

# **THE GAMES OF EMERGENCY**

**A collection of cartoons  
and articles by**

**ABU ABRAHAM**

**VIKAS PUBLISHING HOUSE PVT LTD**

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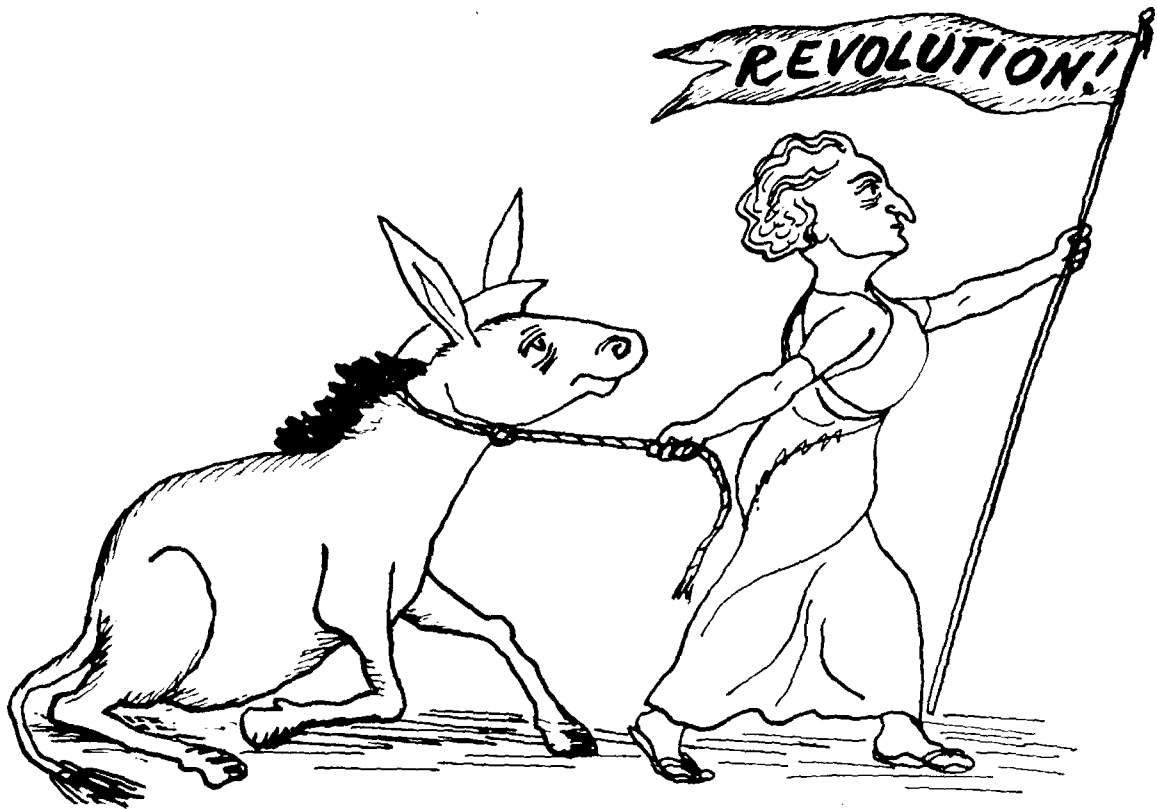
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*To Sneha*

# Foreword

The drawings and articles that follow depict a historic period in India's independent existence. Each one speaks for itself and illustrates a point of view, an attitude. Just as there is no final objectivity in history—it depends on when and by whom it is written—these bits of instant history reveal my bias as well as my convictions. I offer no other commentary to go with them. The events are recent enough for the message to be clear.

No cartoon or essay has been kept out for reasons of wisdom after the event. I claim no superior understanding of politics. All I can claim is that each one of these contributions, most of which appeared in the *Indian Express* and *Sunday Standard*, expres-

sed what I honestly felt on the day I did it.

Some of the cartoons rejected by the censors are also included in this collection. After my first few Emergency cartoons, beginning with the two 'speak-no-evil monkeys', that appeared on June 28, two days after the Emergency was declared, pre-censorship was ordered. It was lifted after some weeks. It was again imposed a year later for another shorter period. For the rest of the time I had no official interference. I have not bothered to investigate why I was allowed to carry on freely. And I am not interested in finding out.

*Abu Abraham*  
New Delhi, 1977

# The State of Humour

*A thing that cannot stand laughter is not a good thing*—James Thurber

The editor of a magazine supposed to be sponsored by the Youth Congress came to me recently and asked, could I write a humorous piece or draw a cartoon for him? He would like to have it by Saturday (and it was Thursday already). He wanted to give importance to humour in his magazine.

Humour about what? Politicians, Congressmen, AIR, the economy or foreign policy? No, no, no. Something non-political and topical. Such as what? The cultivation of tapioca, the price of onions? But if I write on any of these things and make people laugh would not that offend somebody, somewhere? If I joke about

women, I will be called a male chauvinist pig. If I write about tourism, the ITDC will say I am letting down the country in front of foreigners. Prohibition has its comic side but shouldn't I support the 12-point programme?

Early last July I did a cartoon in the *Indian Express* which showed one of my Congress characters in a restaurant shouting, "Waiter, a glass of water, quick! I've swallowed a price tag!" A friend in the Press Information Bureau congratulated me and said that this was the kind of cartoon I should be doing during the Emergency. A few days later, the Minister of Information forwarded to me a letter he had received from a gentleman—a lawyer who is the president of some unheard of society

of advocates. The letter read: "Sir, it seems to me that the censorship is not strict enough. Take for instance the cartoon in the *Indian Express* dated . . . It completely undermines the whole principle of price tags. . ." He then went on to abuse the jute press in two further paragraphs.

Lately, I have come to the conclusion that there is nothing non-political in the world. Politics is simply anything that is controversial and everything in the world is controversial.

There can be no laughter unless there is something to laugh at. You can have art for art's sake but laughter for laughter's sake is the preoccupation of fools.

Slipping on a banana skin can be very comic but also very political if the man who slips happens to be, for example, the President of the Congress. It is difficult to explain why, but the most irresistible laughter comes from the misfortunes of our

bosses. It is, I suppose, our way of equalising with our superiors.

Laughter, thus, may be the manifestation of man's urge towards equality. The reason why man is the only species in the animal kingdom that is capable of laughter must be that man is the only animal which insists on creating inequality. Animals have equality, therefore they do not need to laugh.

I believe that there is today a great awareness of humour (or the lack of it). If cheap humour could be manufactured in a factory, the public would rush to queue up in our ration shops all day. As our newspapers become progressively duller, the reader, drowning in boredom, clutches at every joke. AIR news bulletins nowadays sound like a company chairman's annual address. Profits are carefully and elaborately enumerated, losses are either omitted or played down. Shareholders are reassured.

The inhibitions imposed on journalists

are not the only reason for the colourless mass of print that falls at our doorsteps in the morning. We have had, in the last few months, a fast-flowing stream of a new jargon emanating from the mouths of our politicians, radio and TV commentators, and from the Information Ministry. A new language is developing, which makes one suspect the existence, in our central secretariat and the AICC office, of a secret seven-year plan with which, by the year 1984, we would be not only self-sufficient in double-think but also be able to export some of it. So wild and profuse has been the use of the terminology that right is left and left is right, capitalist is socialist and socialist is capitalist, right-reactionary is left adventurist, and we are all anti-fascists, except those who are fascists. In this

situation if any one has noticed a decline in laughter, the reason may not be the fear of laughing at authority but the feeling that reality and fancy, tragedy and comedy have all, somehow, got mixed up.

Meanwhile we should be grateful for any scraps of humour that come our way. The prize for the joke of the year should go to the Indian news agency reporter in London who approvingly quoted a British newspaper comment on India under the Emergency, that "trains are running on time", not realising that this used to be the standard English joke about Mussolini's Italy. When we have such innocents abroad, we don't really need humorists.

*(Originally published in Seminar, January 1976)*

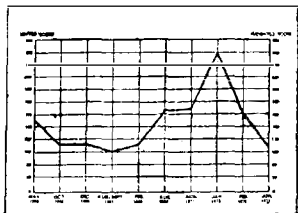




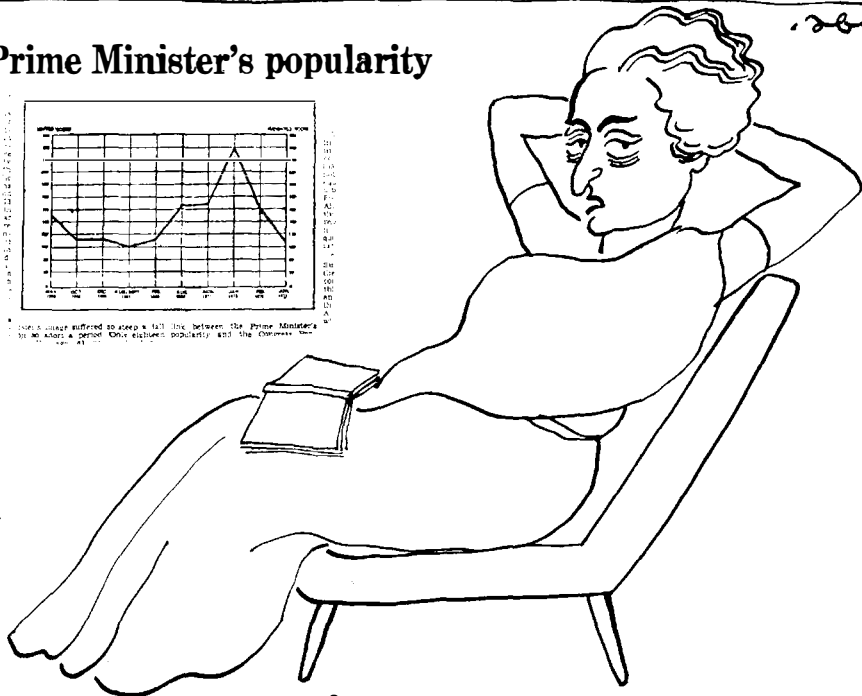
He that is without sin among you,  
let him cast the first stone...



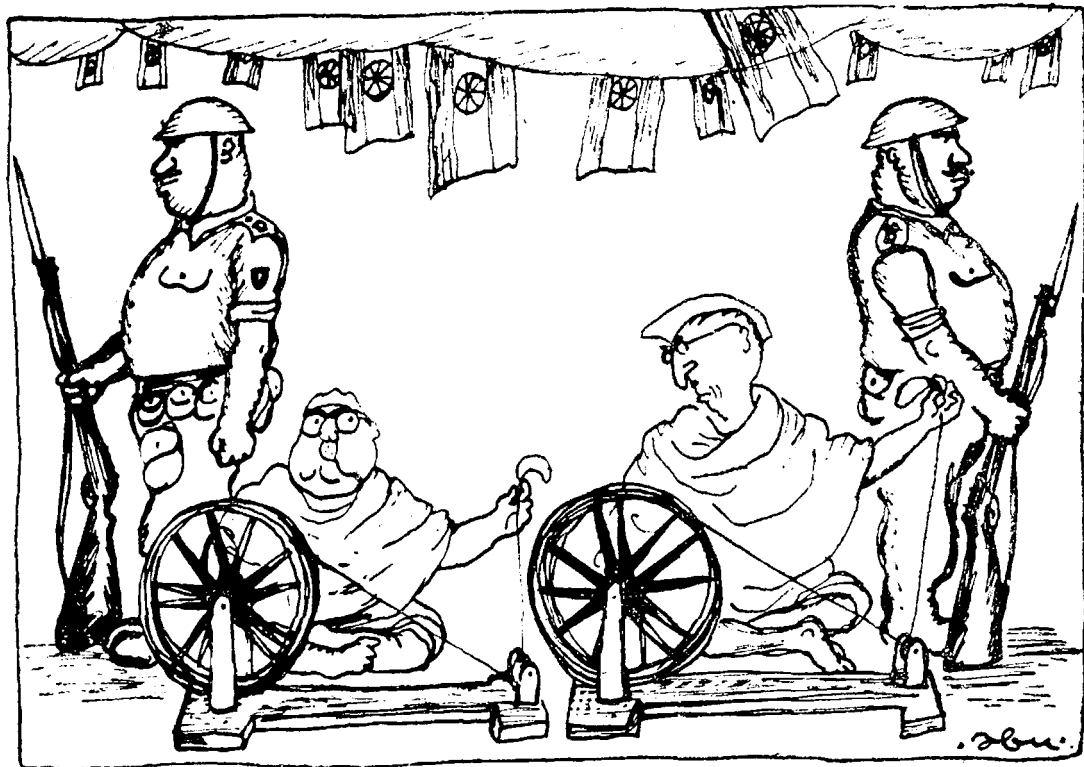
# Prime Minister's popularity



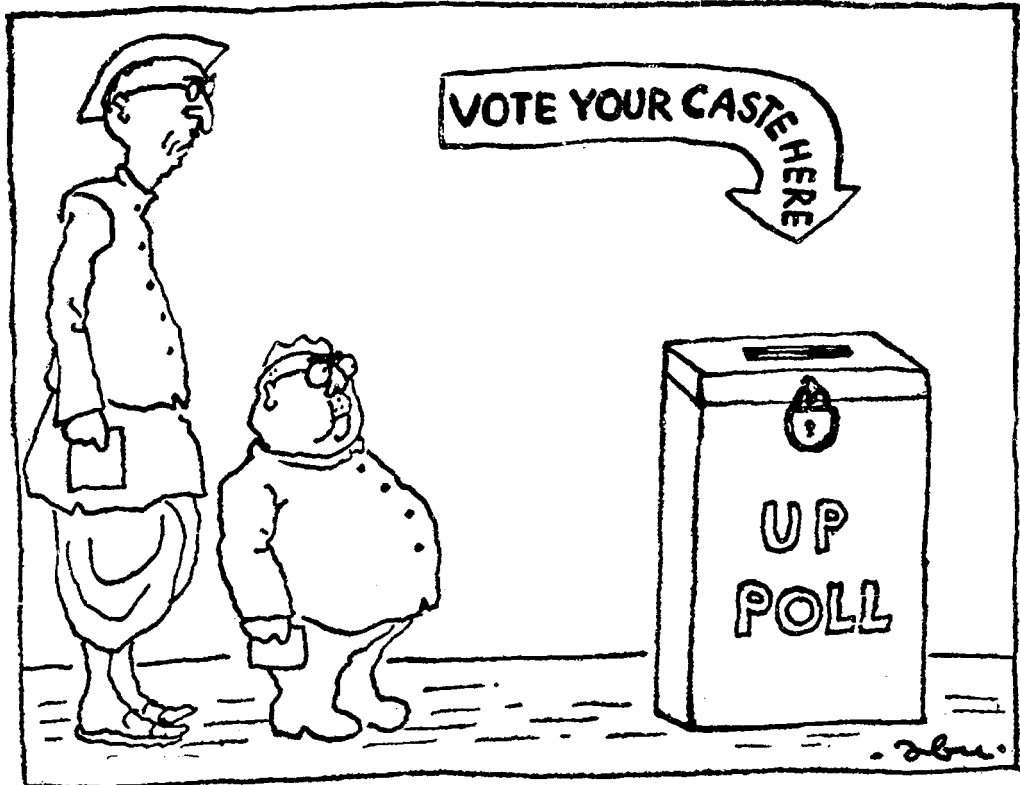
1. The graph suffered to keep a fall line between the Prime Minister's popularity and the Chinese Revolution.



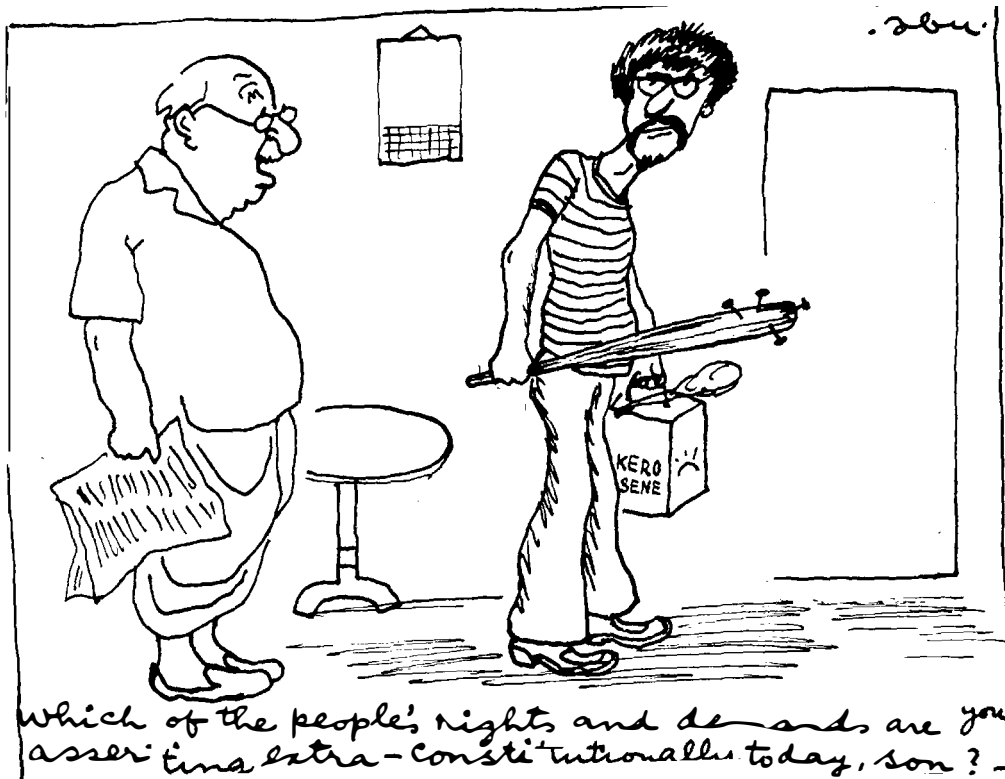
It's a world-wide phenomenon - what about Nixon, Heath, Mao, King of Afghanistan...?



30.1.74



22.2.74



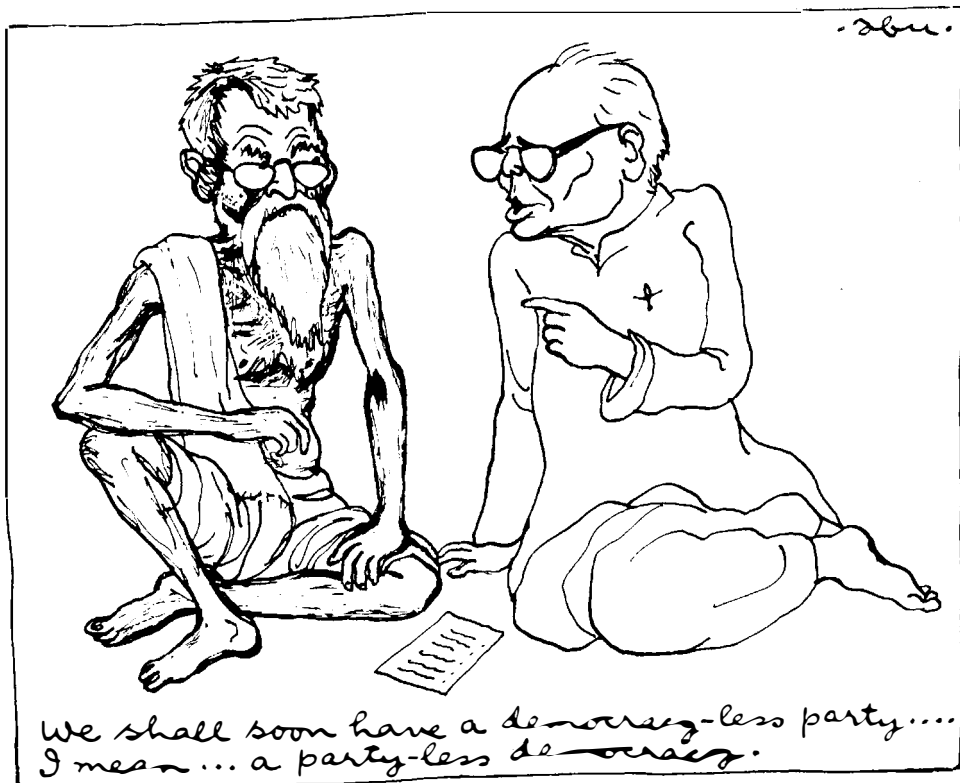
Which of the people's rights and demands are you asserting extra-constitutionally today, son?

# PRIVATE VIEW .264



I like the idea of some  
heart-searching in the Congress.  
Whose heart do we start with?

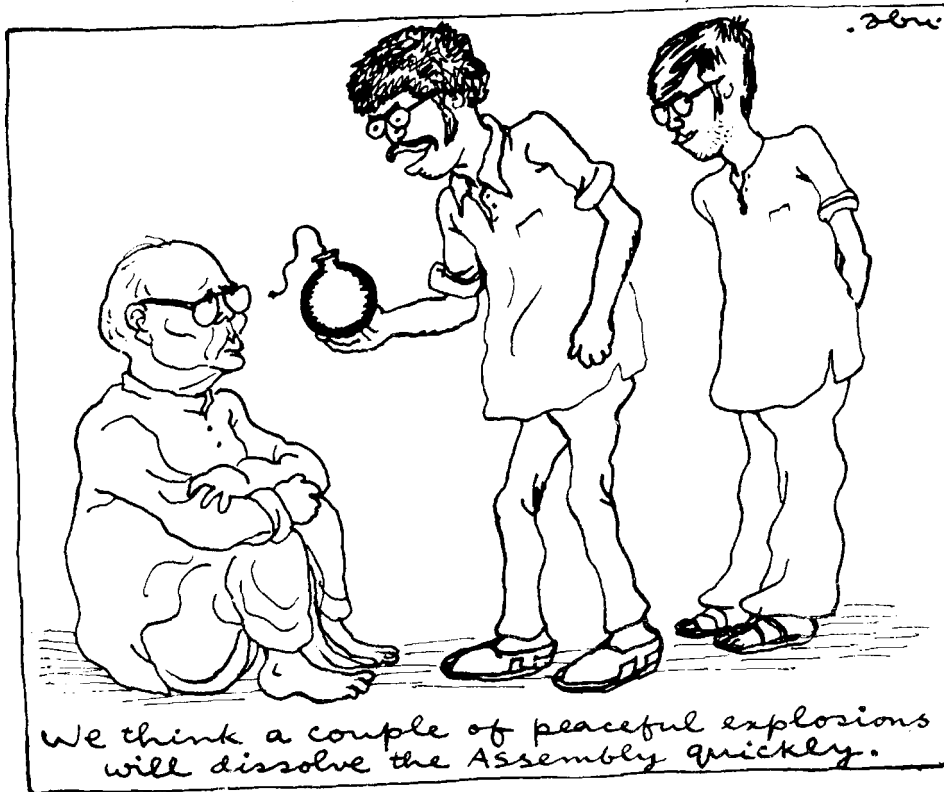
1.5.74



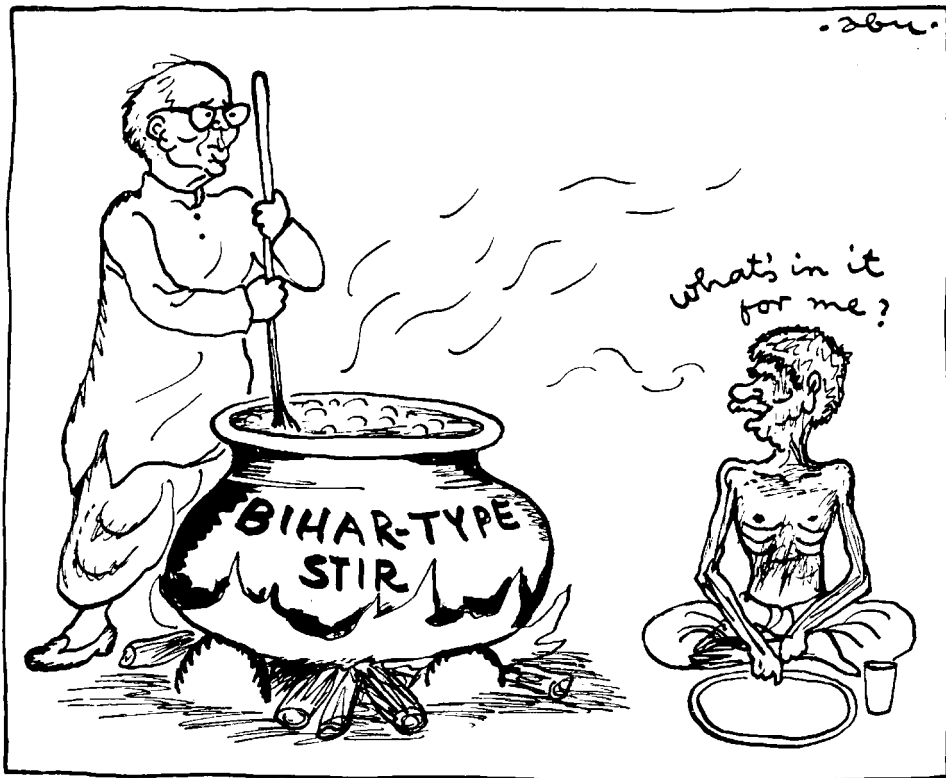
We shall soon have a democracy-less party....  
I mean ... a party-less de-mocracy.

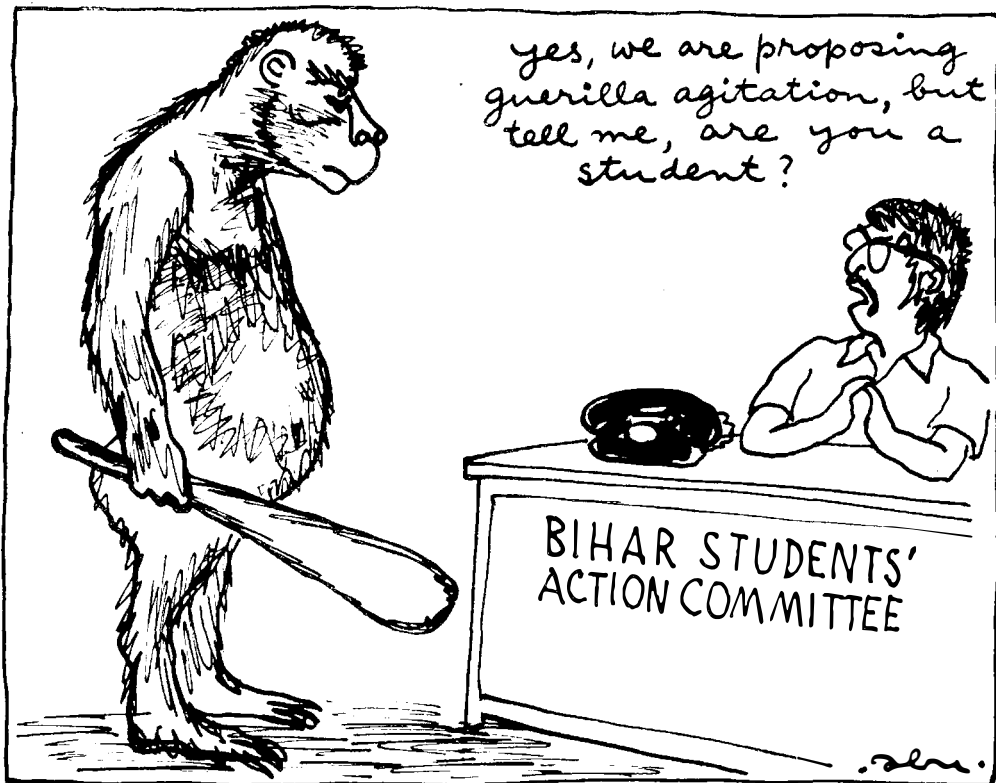
15.6.74





We think a couple of peaceful explosions  
will dissolve the Assembly quickly.





16.7.74



Are we supposed to oppose corruption, or amend it?

21.7.74

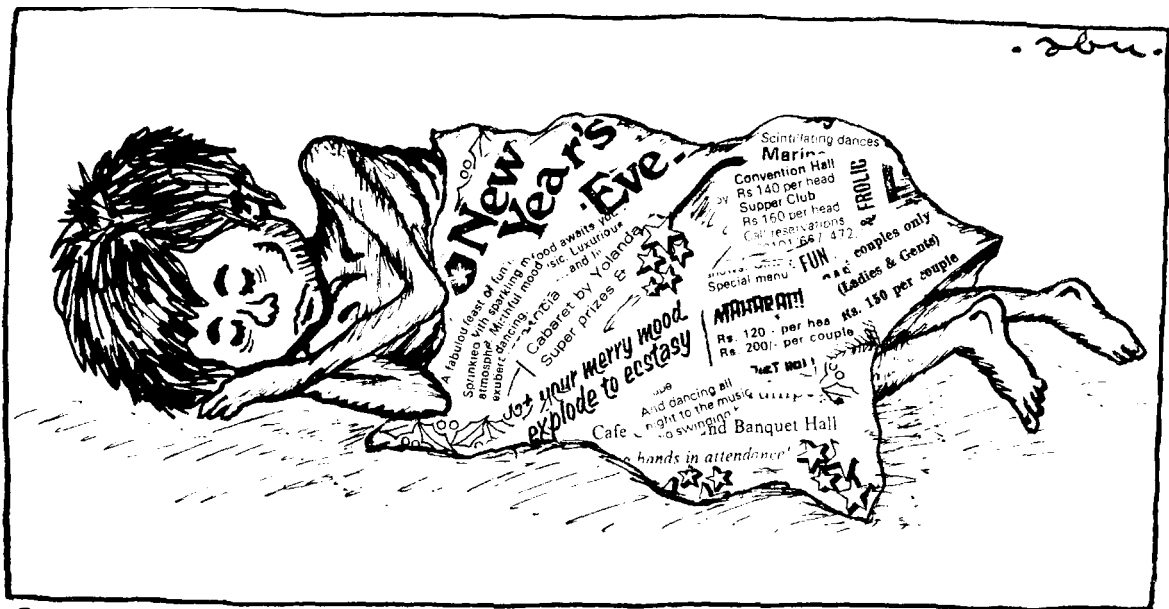
whatever the government is doing is a stunt  
to divert attention from Madhu Limaye,  
Raj Narain and George Fernandes



2.10.74

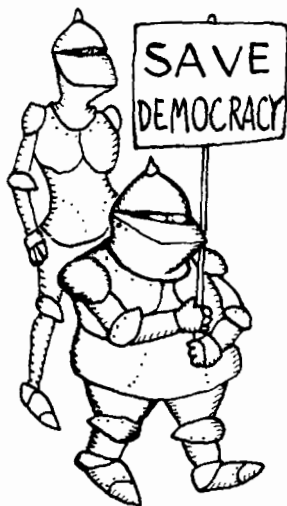
PRIVATE VIEW .26u.





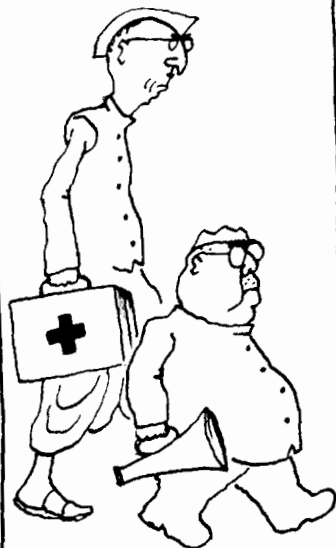
31.12.74

PRIVATE VIEW *abu*



5.1.75

PRIVATE VIEW *abu*



3.6.75





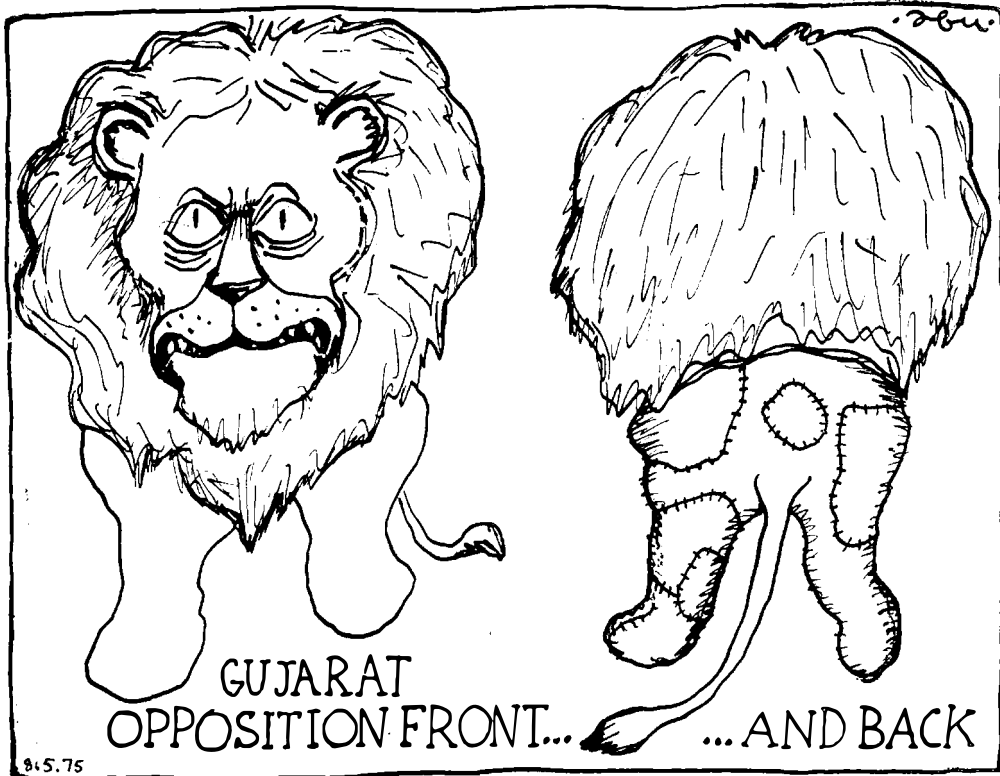
This is serious. Now what do I do with my plans for a people's election?

-200-



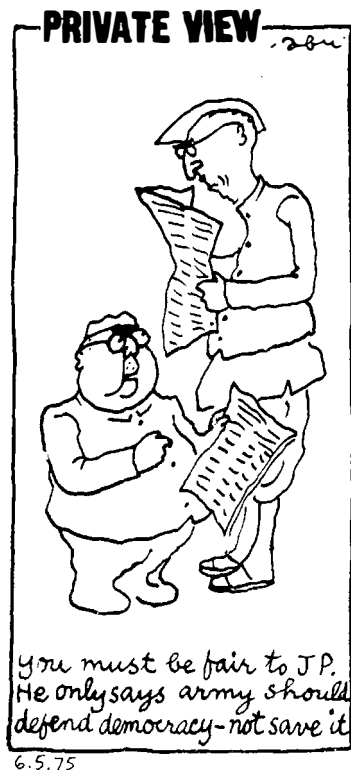
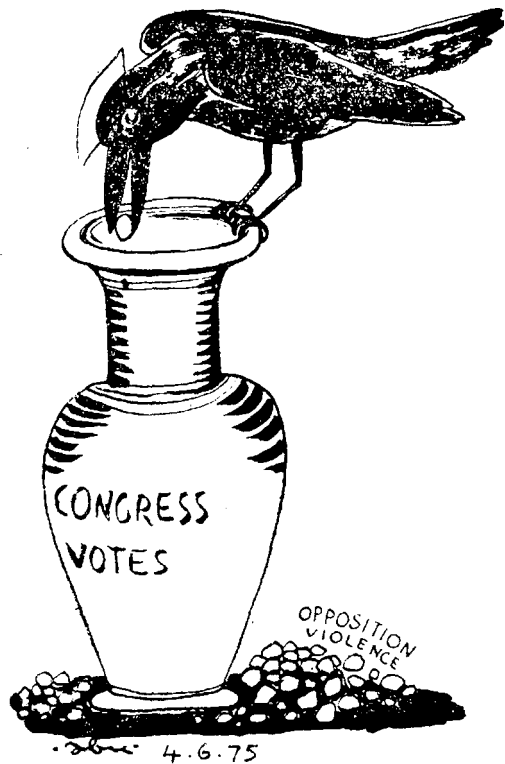
It's my experience that in times like this  
Heaven seems nearer than New Delhi

27. 3. 75



GUJARAT  
OPPOSITION FRONT...

...AND BACK



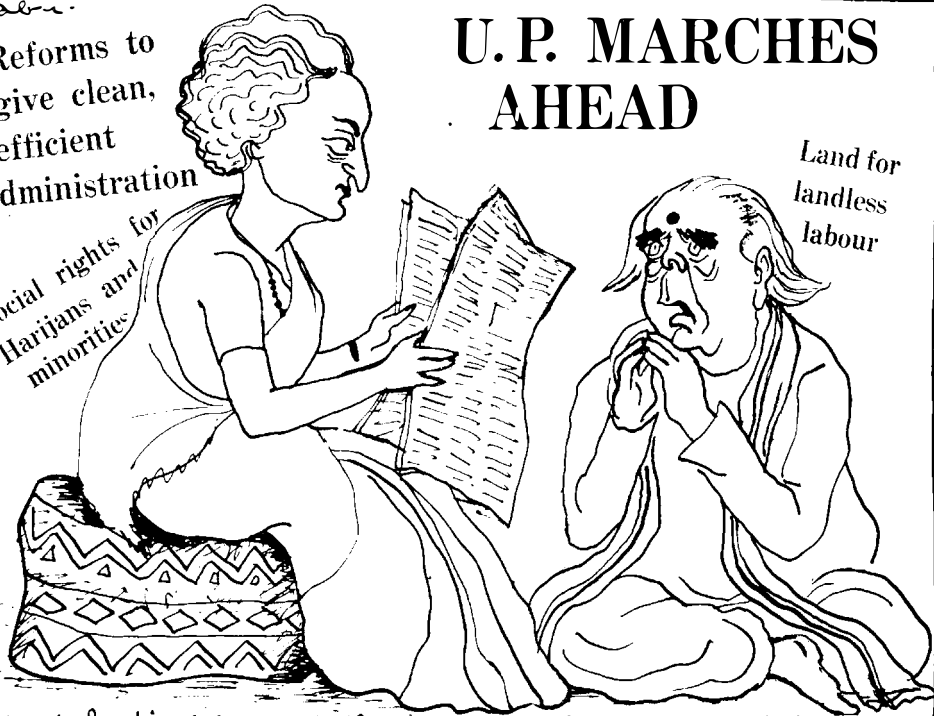
• 26 •

Reforms to  
give clean,  
efficient  
administration

Social rights for  
Harijans and  
minorities

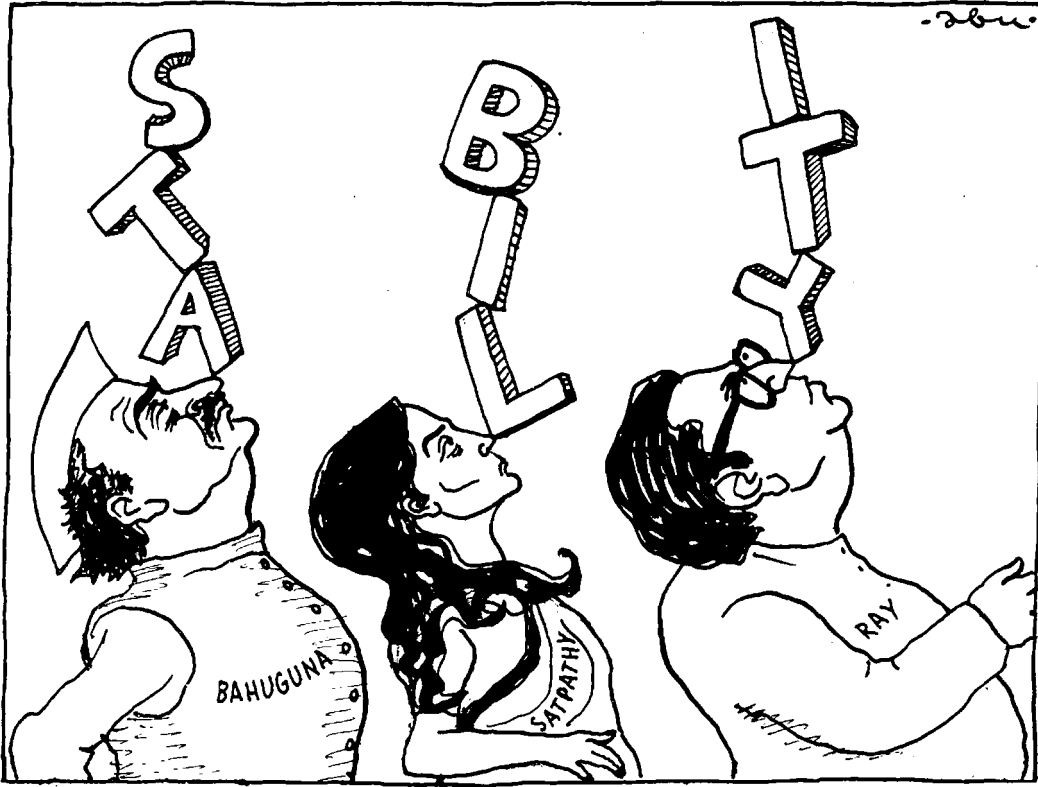
# U. P. MARCHES AHEAD

Land for  
landless  
labour



18.5.75

- And, Indiraji, add to these the abolition of feet-touching  
and you'll see why there's such instability...



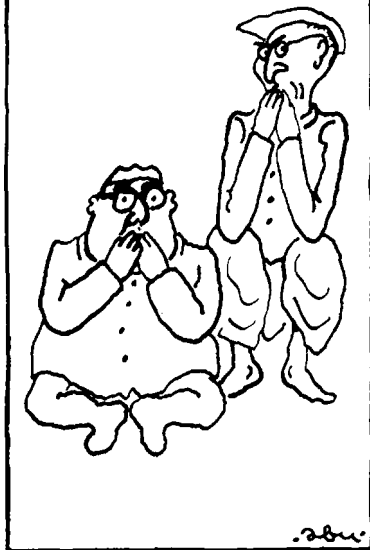
EMERGENCY WARD

An MP—he was  
knocked down  
by the BBC

1.7.75

261

**VERY PRIVATE VIEW**



28.6.75



# Caucus-Pocus

Respected Chairman, ladies and gentlemen:

It is my proud privilege and I wish to keep it.

As the famous saying goes, you can fool all the people some of the time and some of the masses all the time or all the masses some of the time and some of the people all the time, but you can't fool all the people and all the masses all the time. Or, to put it simply, we should watch our language.

If we are to reflect, as they say, the will and aspirations of either the struggling masses or the striving, stooping people, it is essential to reflect one's own will first. **Above** all, to reflect and then to make sure that your words reflect accurately your reflections.

Certain differences have lately arisen between the Kingdom of Thought and the Kingdom of Word and, therefore, to sort these differences out, it is essential to establish close and friendly relations between the two kingdoms. Further talks need to be held between representatives of Thought and Word to iron out misunderstandings.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for some people to talk less and to speak more, a decent respect for the opinions of mankind requires that they should disclose the meaning of their words, so that certain truths may be self-evident, such as that all men are created equal but some are more equal than others; so that government of the masses by The People for The People shall not disappear from the

face of the earth.

Or, to move from the Declaration of Gettysburg to Winston Churchill, never in the history of verbal conflict have so many masses owed so much to so few people. And indeed, while offering the masses flood, toil, drought and tears, we shall fight the enemies of language on the beaches, maidans and everywhere. We shall leave no cliché unturned and no platitude unexplored in achieving our goal.

Whereas it is necessary for workers to unite (and personally I have no objection to it) workers must, at the same time, see that their interests do not clash with those of The People. When such conflicts arise, the Will of the People must remain supreme. In the absence of a responsible, constructive Opposition, the People's Party alone can provide the alternative to the People's Party. It is only they who can ensure that the means justifies the means and the end, the

end, so as to serve the caucuses dear to our hearts. Ladies and gentlemen, it is the duty of all of us to maintain the unity of the nation. Divided we stand, united we topple.

The People must always enjoy the confidence of the masses. That is why it is essential that justice must not only be done, but must seem to be done. Justice derailed is justice denied, therefore we should strive to implement without delay and put justice back on the rails.

The eradication of literacy remains a matter of urgent priority. The disparity between the privileged literate few and the illiterate masses needs to be eliminated and the bridge must be gulfed. We should remember that seventy per cent of the people live in the illiterate areas and our youth who live in literacy should be encouraged to save the villages. We must at the same time stop our doctors and scientists from eradicating to foreign countries.

The vast majority of our masses who do not care about liberty demand fraternity, equality and vasectomy. The masses will practise family planning so that The People can improve their standard of living. We must further raise the age of marriage. As I always say, eternal virginity is the price of liberty.

The weaker sections must be given the most economical democracy. By improving our distribution system we shall ensure that our bumper crops reach the poor. The greatest good of the greatest bumper should be our motto. Freedom of speech should not become licence. Authorised licence-holders

will, however, be allowed to free-speak.

We must consolidate our games and ensure the equitable distribution of sport among the rural masses. If we catch them young and make games compulsory, we shall soon achieve our cherished gold. We shall work hard for the speedy intimidation of our programme to abolish inequalities and eliminate the isms of our society. The only way to remove poverty is by magic. There is not a week nor a day nor an hour to loosen!

Jai Hind.

(Debonair, *February 1977*)

# Barefoot Humour

The Minister for Fun and Humour, Mr Hasyaram, has declared that the Government is considering an amendment to the Constitution to make laughter a fundamental right.

Inaugurating a National Humour Week in New Delhi yesterday, he said that after 28 years of freedom, millions of Indians were going around without a smile on their faces. He added that it was the duty of all political parties and voluntary organisations to help in building a strong and humorous nation.

Quoting Mahatma Gandhi's famous remark that if he didn't have a sense of humour he would have committed suicide, the Minister said that it would be the constant endeavour of the Government to

see that humour was available to all sections of the people. At present, he observed, while a small minority was dying of laughter, the vast masses of the country were on the verge of suicide for lack of humour.

Referring to the complaint in some quarters that the production of humour had declined in recent years, the minister remarked that this was part of a universal phenomenon. But, he added, with a good monsoon and a bumper crop, the prospects for laughter were distinctly bright.

He revealed that the Government was considering a scheme whereby qualified jokers would be given facilities to go to the slums and backward areas and spread laughter. It was the Government's policy

to bring low-priced jokes to the masses and wipe the tears from the eyes of the less fortunate.

Exhorting the nation to work hard to make the 20-point programme a success, he stressed the importance of humour in creating a just and liberal society. The Minister said, however, that laughter should be positive. He warned that negative laughter might be harmful to the stability of the nation. Constructive humour, on the other hand, would check fissiparous tendencies and would be a force for peace and unity.

Referring to censorship, he said that it was only aimed at irresponsible and irrepressible laughter, and would be lifted as soon as conditions permitted. At present the production of humour was the monopoly of a few professional jokers who did not always joke in the national interest. There were

signs, however, of a new sense of responsibility among them and they were applying self-regulation.

Earlier, Mr Pancharasa Rao, President of the National Association for Pure and Applied Humour, welcoming the Minister, pleaded for more Government help for the small manufacturers of jokes. He suggested that the twenty-first point should be the greater production of humour, and promised the cooperation of his members in making sufficient indigenous jokes of a simple kind to meet the needs of the common man. He deplored the tendency of some joke producers to go in for foreign collaboration.

Miss Joy Devivre, Secretary of the Association, proposed a joke of thanks.

(Indian Express, November 1975)

# Forty-fifth Amendment

<sup>n</sup> Notwithstanding anything contained in the forty-fourth amendment to the Constitution and notwithstanding anything lying therein with hidden meaning or secret purpose, anti-national activity in relation to a minister, Member of Parliament, senior civil servant, party official or any individual whether he be businessman, contractor, self-styled leader or ordinary citizen, will include:

31A (a) any public speech that exceeds one hour or 10,000 words, whichever is less:

(b) arriving for such occasion more than forty-five minutes late or wasting more than 500 man-hours, whichever is worse;

(c) to not apologise, after such arrival;

(d) to repeat in such speeches what he has already said more than five times during

the week preceding the date of delivery of the speech:

(e) to complain of misquotation when a speech or part thereof has caused trouble within the party or organisation of the complainant;

(f) or, in the absence of such misquoting as is referred to in (e), to insist that it be reported by AIR, Samachar, and the national newspapers (referred to in the government list).

31B Notwithstanding any excuse given by the citizen, anti-national activity will also include:

(a) welcoming or saying farewell to any superior VIP (Very Important Person, for the purpose of this Article) more than once a week at the airport;

(b) travelling more than fifty miles, or for three hours, whichever is less, on such visits to the airport;

(c) pushing forward, with laugh or smile, whichever is more beaming, to get into press photograph with the person arriving or departing.

31C Notwithstanding anything said or done at the airport, a VIP shall be committing an anti-national act,

(a) if he has more than one hundred and one policemen to guard him or more than eleven personal assistants to carry his suitcase, files and ticket;

(b) if he causes, voluntarily or involuntarily, the stoppage of traffic along the route from the airport.

31D Notwithstanding anything said or done by the VIP or the policemen at the airport, his anti-national activity shall include any other act which will waste man-hours or so impede the national economic progress as to be deemed anti-national.

31E Notwithstanding anything contained in A, B, C or D a person shall be committing an anti-national act if he bows Japanese style before his leader or boss or touches or attempts to touch the feet of the leader or boss, while receiving or welcoming such leader or boss at the airport or felicitating such leader or boss at public ceremonies held in the national interest.

(Sunday Standard, *October 1976*)

# Man for all Seasons

The President of the All-India Sycophantic Society, in a statement issued in New Delhi today, has denied that the society will be putting up candidates for the forthcoming elections to the Lok Sabha. "True sycophancy," he says, "is non-political."

Following is the full text of the statement: "While touching two exalted feet yesterday evening, my attention was drawn to a newspaper lying on the floor, wherein it was stated that the AISS would be contesting the Lok Sabha elections in March. I wish to state with all the servility at my command, that the report is malicious and baseless and could have been circulated only with the object of spoiling the Society's prospects after the elections.

"Sycophancy has a long and historic

tradition in our country. Our Society, though formed only recently, has always tried to uphold the values handed down by our ancestors through the centuries.

"It has lately been noticed that a few time-servers have infiltrated into our Society, and it is possible that the report is based on some of their activities. Time-servers should have no place in our Society. Time-servers are opportunists, whereas we sycophants believe in serving the masters at all times. 'Servility before Self' is our motto.

"The vast masses of this country who are now rising from their poverty are demanding more and more opportunities for sycophancy. We in the Society are aware that the needs of the masses can only be met through a broad-based programme of meet-



ing the needs of the masters.

"We believe in promoting the policies of all political parties, irrespective of ideology or ism, so that we shall be able to serve the interests of the masters, whichever party comes to power. True sycophancy is non-political. It is essentially a way of life which aims at the survival of the servilest."

Our political correspondent adds: The statement by the President of the Sycophantic Society lays at rest speculation that had arisen, since the announcement of the elections, as to the political position of the Society. The Society in recent years had acquired unprecedented power and influence.

While being all things to all men it had, at the same time, concentrated its activities in the upper regions of the administrative and political power structure. This had led to criticism from some members that the

Society was risking its future by putting all its butter in one basket.

The Society, it is now presumed, will devote the next few weeks to the consolidation of the gains of sycophancy and plan its future course of action according to which way the windbags blow. The nation's interests, the Society now feels, are best served by touching all the available feet and promoting a broad-based programme of flattery. By keeping out of active controversy in the coming weeks the Society hopes to safeguard its own interest as well as the future of unanimity. Meanwhile, a spokesman for the opposition parties has stated that although it is not specifically mentioned in their manifesto, the promotion of sycophancy will get all possible assistance if they are returned to power.

(Sunday Standard, *February 1977*)

# A Little Pregnancy

How would you like "a little compulsion"? There are, I notice, many people who are in favour of "a little compulsion" in family planning, whatever Dr Karan Singh might say. Compulsion for the others, of course, not for themselves. This is the difficulty with most compulsory methods. The rich, the privileged, the influential, the well-connected, they are always laying down rules, morals, precepts for the rest of us, which they themselves need not observe.

As a nation we have always been good at vicarious morality. If we preface our remarks with the phrase 'As Gandhiji said. . .' or 'As Pandit Nehru said. . .' we can all be thoroughly moral without ever having to actually practise morality. At all levels of our society, people are saying what Minis-

ters, MPs, Congressmen, lawyers, teachers, doctors, socialists, should do, but they never seem to worry about how *they* should be behaving or what they should be doing.

So, as I was saying, there are these people who are for compulsion—not coercion or intimidation, mind you, but "a little compulsion".

When a friend from the Information Ministry said the other day (at a panel discussion on family planning in which we both took part) that he was in favour of "a little compulsion", I asked him, "Then why don't we have a little pregnancy?" It was, I think, a good point to make, because a little compulsion can easily lead to bigger compulsions, to intimidation and coercion, threats and even physical violence. Every-

one you meet these days has an FP story to tell. And not all of them are stories heard from others. Many have their own personal experiences to narrate. Some real horrors have been taking place. I have only just seen the April 1976 issue of *Fulcrum* which had an excellent piece of reporting (by M. Rahman) on the sterilisation campaign in the small Maharashtra town of Barsi. Unlike the developmental journalism which our officialdom encourages these days, which is often merely congratulatory journalism, this was good investigative reporting.

Officially, the sterilisation campaign in Barsi was a grand success but two paragraphs that I quote from the article show what kind of success:

"Shahu Laxman Ghalake, a poor peasant from Kavhe, said in his complaint that when he was in Barsi on January 31 he was surrounded by about ten people and thrown into a truck. When he asked where he was

being taken, he was kicked and beaten. At the hospital, when he tried to explain that he had already been sterilised ten to twelve years ago, the doctor would not listen. He was held down by two or three people and sterilised once again. Now it had turned septic and he couldn't get any medicine.

"In Barsi I also met a 40-year old farmer from Deogaon, a village some five kilometres from the town. Pandhari Nivriti Manjre, who owns a 32-acre farm, had come on his bullock-cart to sell vegetables at the market. Though already sterilised, he suffered the same fate as the others. 'When I told the doctor at the hospital that I had been sterilised earlier he replied: "Why do you worry? It is just a small operation and you'll get Rs 50." I told him, I'll give you Rs 500 but for God's sake let me go. But he wouldn't listen. And the way he operated I couldn't walk after that and had to spend the night in town.'"

It is always the poor who suffer when compulsion becomes a policy. Well-dressed, well-fed people are seldom herded into trucks and driven away by enthusiastic officials or police.

This Barsi report is several months old. But similar things, one gathers, still happen all over the country. In some towns, I am told, there are touts and agents who provide vasectomy certificates, for a certain sum of money, to district officials, school teachers and college principals whose salaries would otherwise be delayed or cut. In the absence of free reporting or comment, and when there are orders prohibiting newspapers from printing even letters to the editor on family planning, there is no way of knowing what is happening.

A ban on publishing letters on family planning came soon after the *Indian Express* printed a letter from a parent who said that his son had failed in his school examination, but the headmaster offered to promote the

boy if his father got himself vasectomised. The fact that the man was already 65 years old didn't impress the headmaster.

Unless such cases are made public, it will be difficult to prevent the excesses committed by petty bureaucrats.

There may well be a case for "a little compulsion". After all, there are many compulsions in civilised societies. We have, for instance, compulsory primary education, compulsory vaccination. And of course, religious compulsions are many and millions of us follow them meekly.

But a compulsion that has not been discussed openly, that has not received the general acceptance of society is not compulsion, but coercion. In the case of family planning, I don't think there is need for either, because no one seriously disputes the need to check the growth of population. Education and intelligent use of incentives can do far more.

(Debonair, *January 1977*)

# The Games of Emergency

Our fun and games correspondent reports:

An Anti-Dowry Girls' League eleven defeated a Dowry Boys' eleven in a thrilling encounter at the Gandhi Sports Stadium in Delhi yesterday. The boys started well by robbing the girls of their handbags, but after half-time the girls brought in their daddies as reinforcement and kidnapped the boys, whose mums stood helpless. The umpire was later felicitated at a reception given by the Mayor.

In the Karan Singh Trophy Tournament in Lucknow the Mahilavidyalaya of Agra scored a victory over the Yuva Kendra of Kanpur with the former scoring twenty-one loops against the latter's fifteen vasectomies. One Kendra boy was disqualified for a year as he was found to have had two vasecto-

mies. His claim that a girl had two loops was rejected.

In the annual sports mela of Jaya Bharat Public School in Poona, the three-legged race was won by a Brahmin-Harijan pair. The boys were later congratulated by the headmaster at a purification ceremony.

There was mass participation in the 800 metres relay race event in which students carried saplings which were later planted around the stadium. Nearly half the trees were later found to have their roots in the air as they were handled the wrong way during the race.

In the table tennis tournament mixed doubles final the players used red triangular bats. The match was interrupted at two games all, when the headmaster announced

the capture of a new vasectomy volunteer. This is the first time that an operation has been carried out on a table tennis table in the middle of a match.

The Union Deputy Minister for Fun and Games, addressing a youth rally in Hyderabad last night, exhorted the nation to work hard to implement the ten-point Olympics programme to create self-sufficiency in gold. During his two-hour address, the lights failed but he continued to speak. When electricity was restored, the minister found

himself addressing a group of goats which had gathered, presumably to eat up the saplings he had planted earlier.

Floods interrupted a boat race in the Yamuna in Delhi between a Censors team and a Self-Censors team. The captain of the Censors, on being rescued by villagers, expressed surprise at the floods occurring despite the guidelines. There is no news of two members of the Self-Censors team who were last seen floating on a rumour.

(Indian Express, *October 1976*)

**PRIVATE VIEW**

NOT TO BE PUBLISHED  
(D. K. Basant)

CENSOR  
Government of India

3/7/2



**3.7.75**

**-PRIVATE VIEW**

WAITER!  
A GLASS OF WATER,  
QUICK! I'VE  
SWALLOWED  
A PRICETAG!



3.7.75

**PRIVATE VIEW**

**Parliament to  
meet on July 21**  
One-week session



**EVERY LITTLE COUNTS..**

11.7.75

**PRIVATE VIEW**



**WHAT DO YOU THINK OF  
EDITORS WHO ARE MORE  
LOYAL THAN THE CENSOR?**

13.7.75



**PRIVATE VIEW**

THE  
END  
IS  
NEAR



WE'RE OPTIMISTS.

**NOT PASSED BY CENSOR**  
KSE  
Chief Censor.

14.7.75

X

**PRIVATE VIEW**

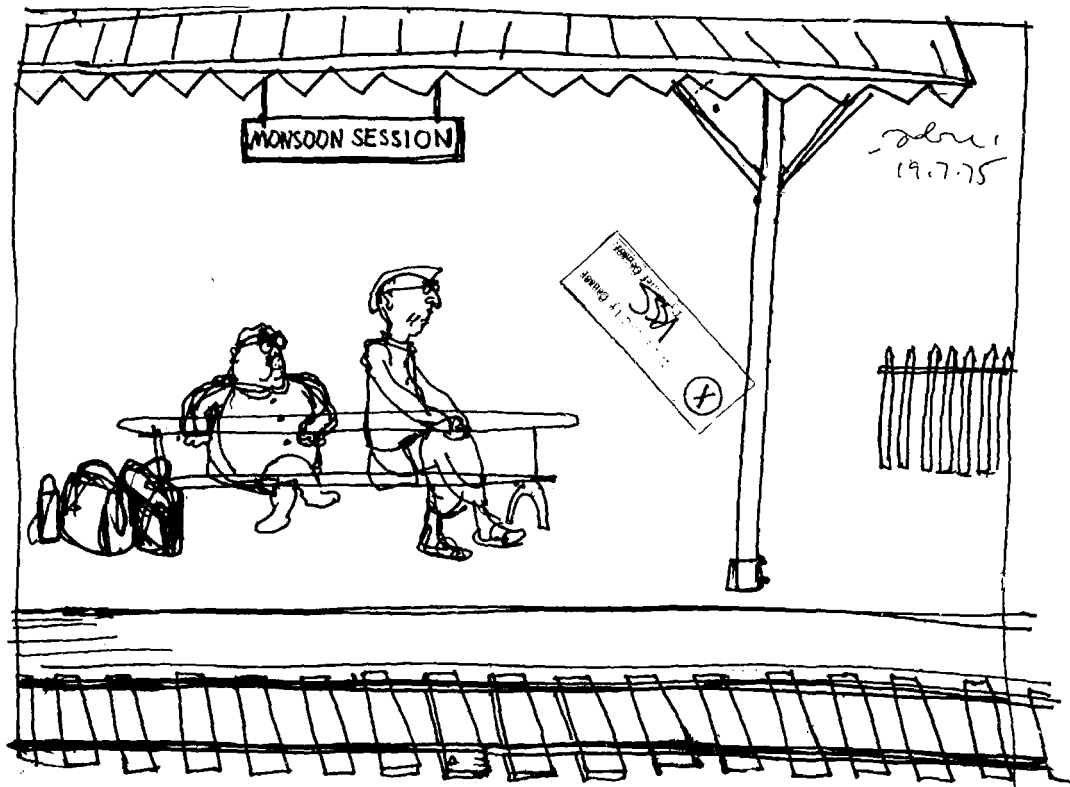
(X)

By Censor  
KSE  
By Chief Censor.

MY TRAIN OF  
THOUGHT  
HAS DERAILED!



15/7/75



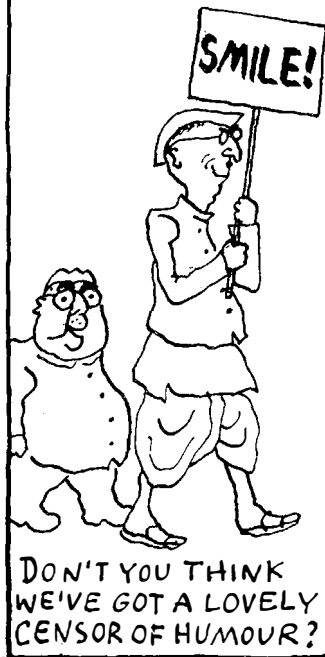


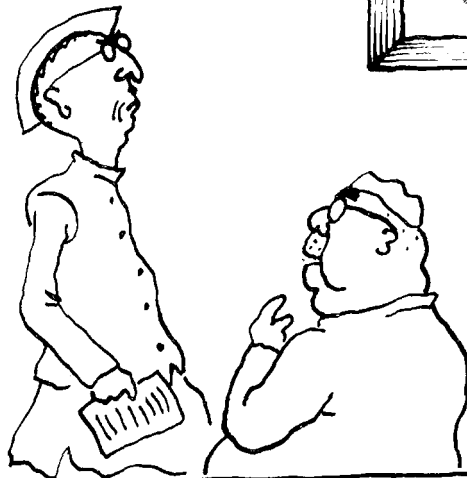
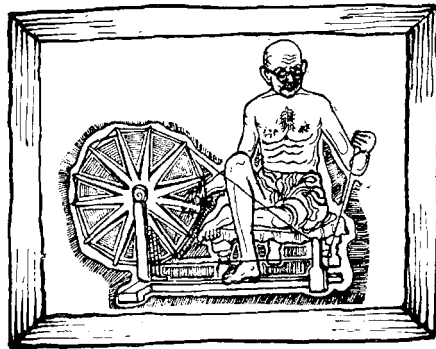
- Don  
 1877/75



- Don  
 4.7.75

**PRIVATE VIEW**



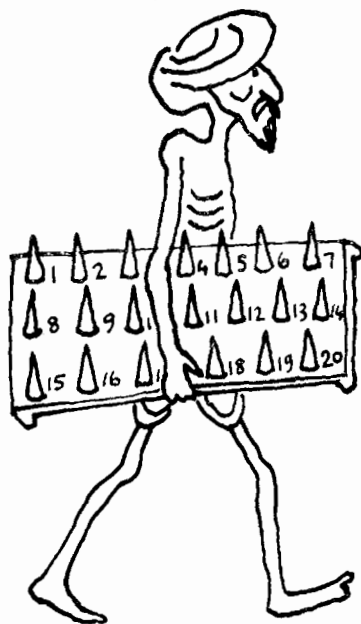


IT WOULD APPEAR  
THAT HE KNEW  
ABOUT OUR  
20-POINT  
PROGRAMME!

-20u-

2.10.75

# ABU'S WORLD



26.10.75

**PRIVATE VIEW**

as an artificial scarcity so,  
profiteering was created.

**KERALA MINISTRY  
MAKES RECORD  
IN MEASURES IN  
FIVE YEARS**

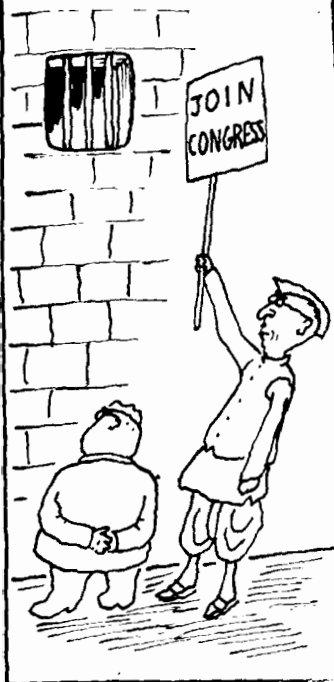
TRIVANDRUM Oct 3.—The Unit-  
ed Front Congress Ministry, head-  
ed by the CPI leader, Mr. C.  
V. Narayan, the



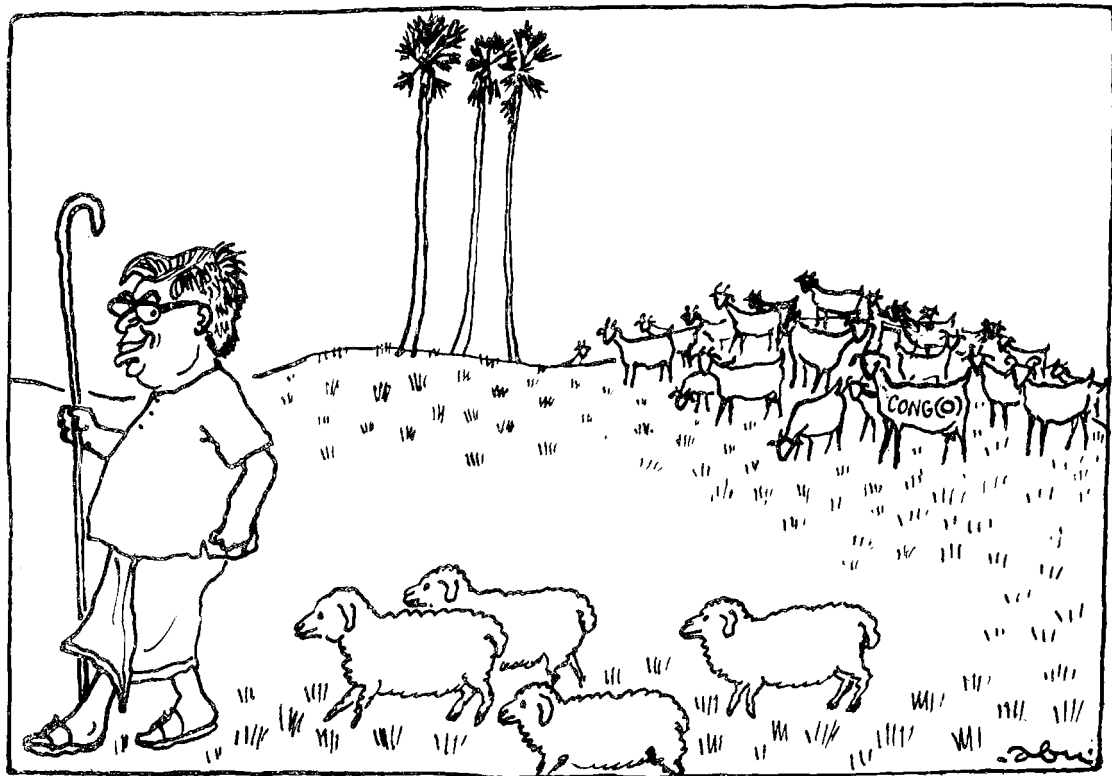
**REMARKABLE! AND FOR  
4 YEARS AND 263 DAYS  
THEY DIDN'T EVEN HAVE  
THE EMERGENCY!**

5.10.75

**PRIVATE VIEW**

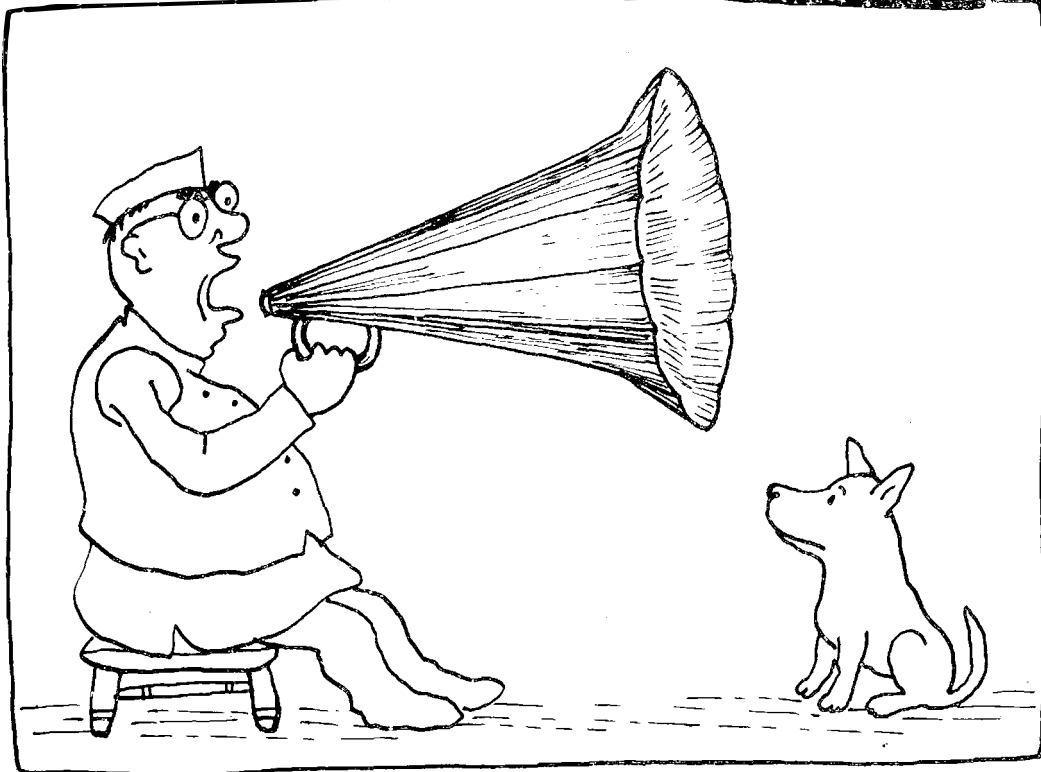


7.10.75



10.10.75





2.11.75

## PRIVATE VIEW

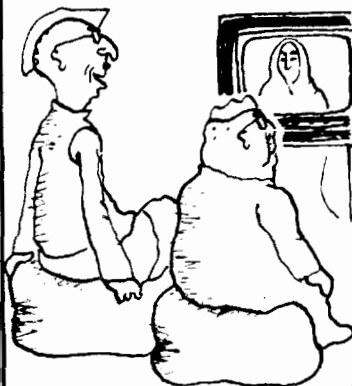


I DON'T MIND ANY AMEND-  
MENT OF THE CONSTITUTION,  
PROVIDED THE CITIZENS' RIGHTS  
ARE PROTECTED BY LOOPHOLES

22.10.75

## PRIVATE VIEW

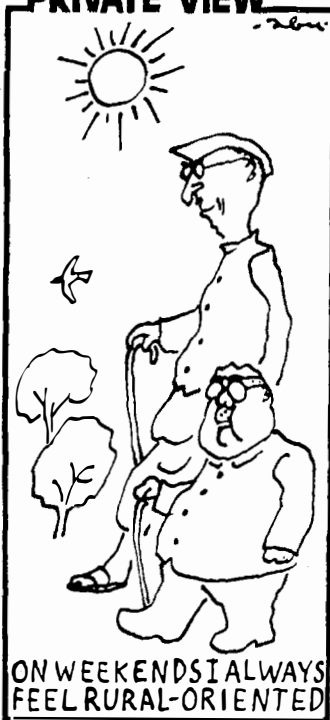
A bitter pill  
was needed to  
restore nation's  
health: PM



AND THE PRODUCTION OF  
SUGAR COATING HAS ALREADY  
EXCEEDED THE PLAN TARGET

13.11.75

# PRIVATE VIEW



ON WEEKENDS I ALWAYS  
FEEL RURAL-ORIENTED

18.11.75

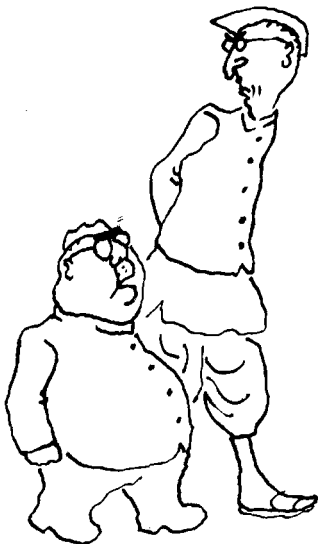
# PRIVATE VIEW



WHICH WAY IS IT? WILL THE  
20-POINT PLAN HELP ANTI-  
FASCISM, OR ANTI-FASCISM  
HELP THE 20-POINT PLAN?

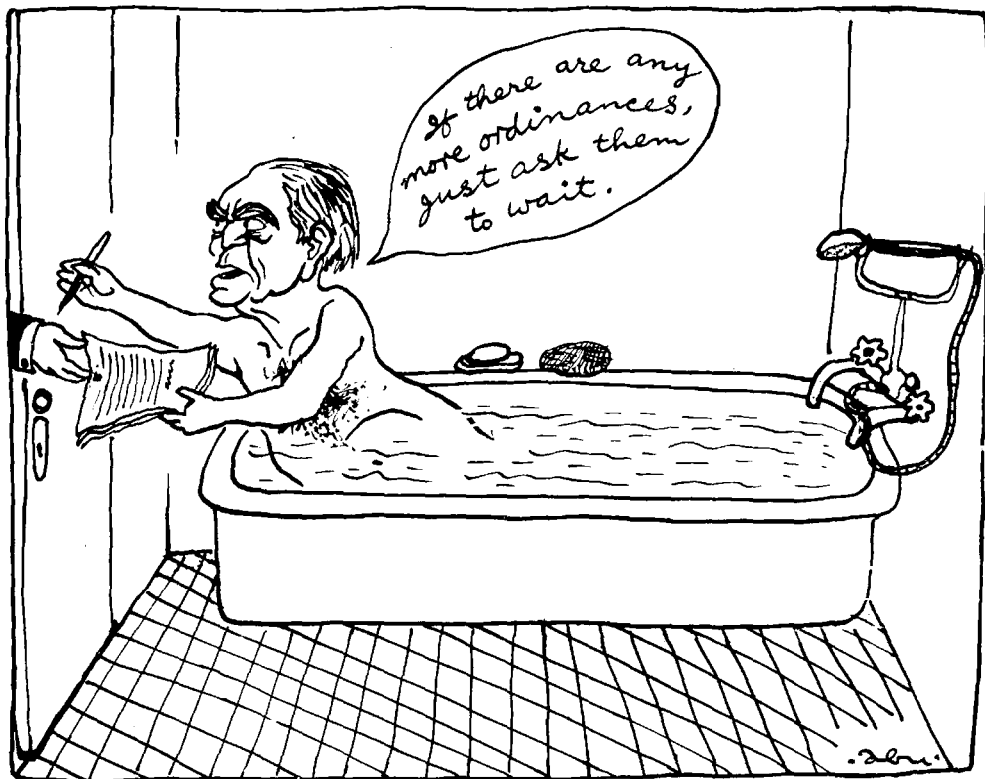
26.11.75

# PRIVATE VIEW



Bahuguna had to go.  
He was interfering in  
the internal affairs of UP

30.11.75



10.12.75

## PRIVATE VIEW



The latest medical bulletin  
on the press says that it  
is making steady progress  
on an artificial heart

12.12.75

**ABU'S WORLD**



**Work more  
talk less**

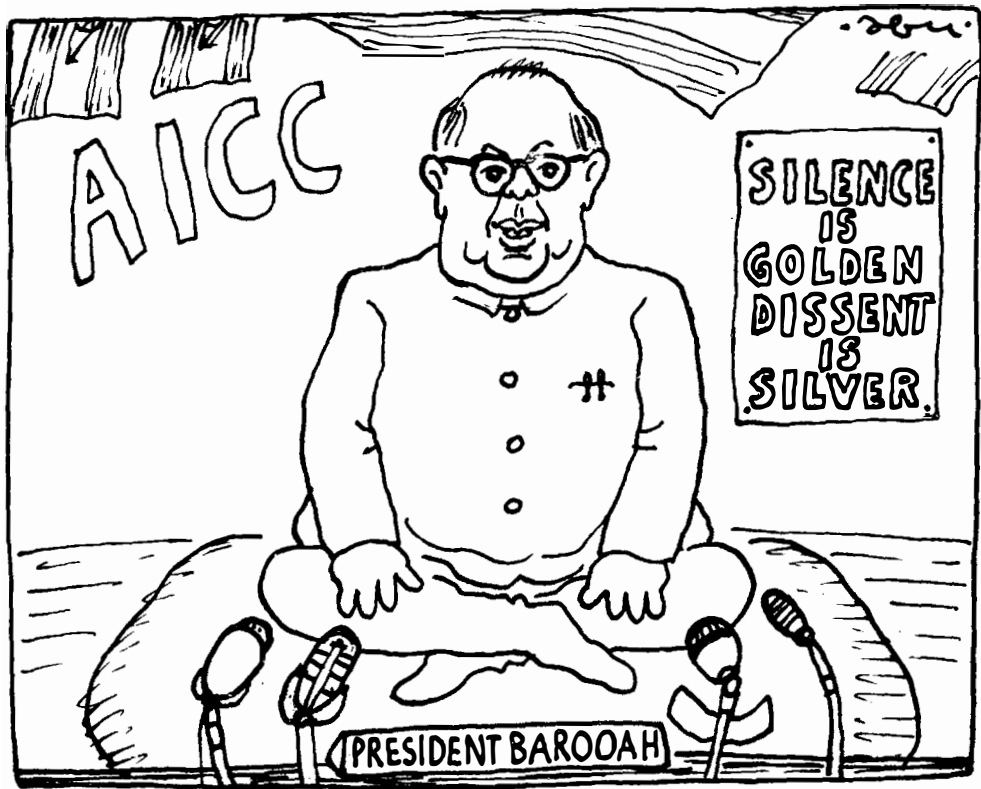
**Work more  
talk less**

**Work more  
talk less**

**Work more  
talk less**

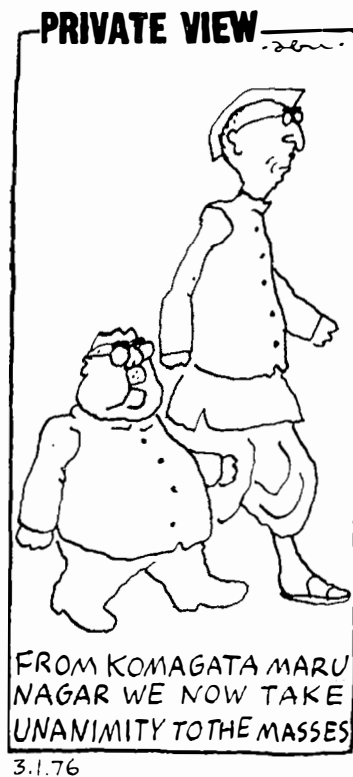
**Work more  
talk less**

14.2.75

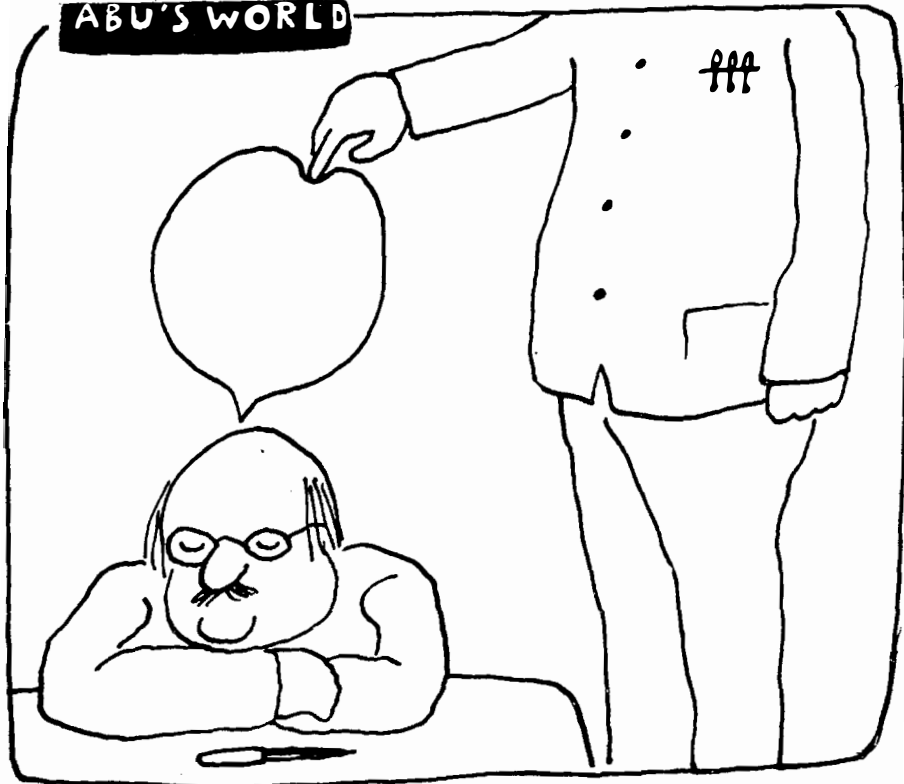


27.12.75





ABU'S WORLD



**PRIVATE VIEW**



REMIND ME ONCE AGAIN-  
HOW MANY FREEDOMS  
WE HAVE NOW?

11.1.76

**PRIVATE VIEW**



ALREADY ONE NOTICES  
A DISMAL LACK OF  
OBJECTIONABLE MATTER

30.1.76

# PRIVATE VIEW



IF THERE'S NO EXTERNAL  
THREAT TO TAMIL NADU,  
IT'S OUR DUTY TO PROVIDE IT

13.1.76



Karunanidhiji, does it matter if self-discipline  
is sometimes imposed from New Delhi?

**PRIVATE VIEW**

**TALK  
LESS,  
SPEAK  
MORE**

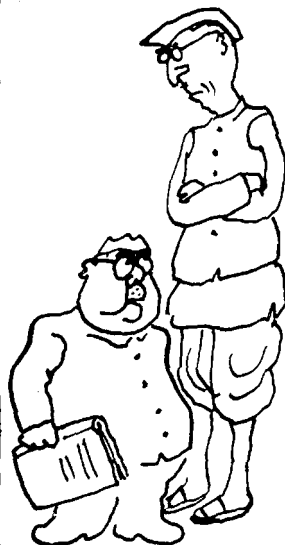


20.2.76



29.2.76

# PRIVATE VIEW



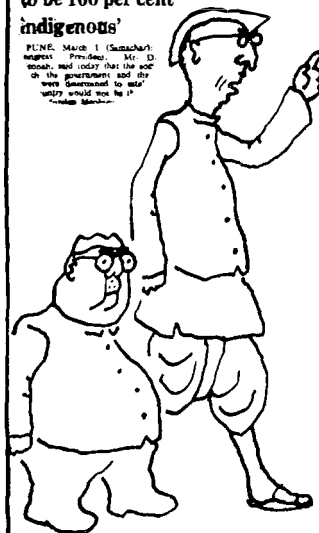
I DON'T MIND WHAT IS  
CHANGED IN THE CONSTITUTION  
SO LONG AS THE CONSTITUTION-  
CHANGERS REMAIN SUPREME

2.3.76

# PRIVATE VIEW

'Indian socialism  
to be 100 per cent  
indigenous'

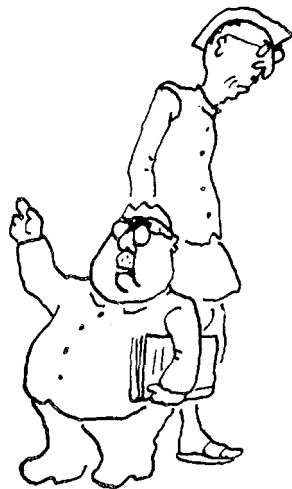
PUNE, March 1 (Samachar)  
against President, Mr. D.  
Sinha, said today that the soc  
in the government and the  
were determined to end  
unity would not be it



IN OTHER WORDS, IT  
WILL BE BOROOAHED

3.3.76

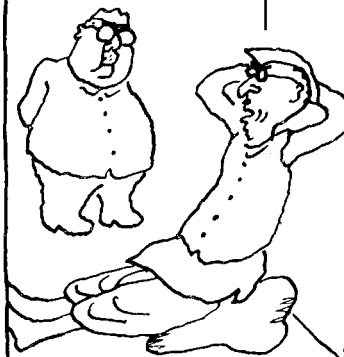
**PRIVATE VIEW**



CHANGING THE CONSTITUTION  
IS TOO SERIOUS A BUSINESS  
TO BE LEFT IN THE HANDS  
OF BARE-FOOT LAWYERS

6.3.76

**PRIVATE VIEW**



IDEOLOGICALLY, WHAT ARE YOU-  
RIGHT, LEFT OR YOUTH?

23.3.76





26.3.76

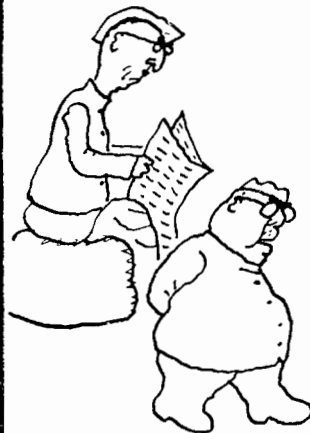
**PRIVATE VIEW**



YOU'VE GUESSED IT!  
V IS FOR VASECTOMY

30.3.76

**PRIVATE VIEW**



IF THE STATES ARE TO DECIDE  
ON COMPULSORY STERILIS-  
ATION, IS IT SAFE TO TRAVEL  
ON THE GRAND TRUNK EXPRESS?

7.4.76



27.3.76



13.5.76

## PRIVATE VIEW

'Vasectomy  
makes  
sex life  
better'



WHAT WAS OUR LAST TOTAL  
OF THE GAINS OF EMERGENCY?

9.12.76

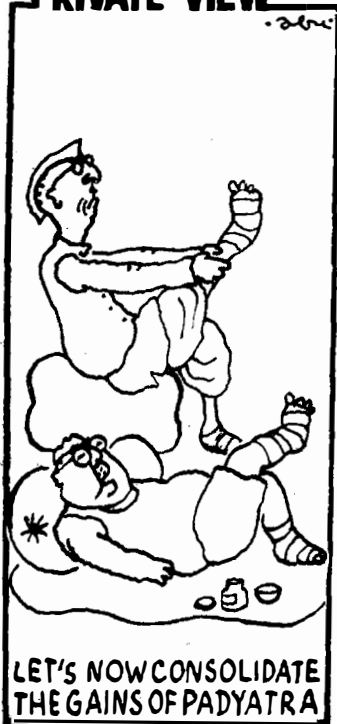
## PRIVATE VIEW



LET IT BE A CIRCULAR  
PADYATRA THEN

13.4.76

**PRIVATE VIEW**



**LET'S NOW CONSOLIDATE  
THE GAINS OF PADYATRA**

14.4.76

**PRIVATE VIEW**

**US editors fear curbs  
on Press freedom**

WASHINGTON, April 18 (Reu- ad to prohibit publication.  
... .. ASNE contribution and

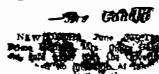


**I TELL YOU, ALMOST EVERY-  
THING THESE DAYS IS A  
WORLD-WIDE PHENOMENON**

20.4.76

# PRIVATE VIEW

Freedom of  
press secure



DEFEND IT WITH ALL  
YOUR SAMACHAR!

27.76

# PRIVATE VIEW



A HIGHER OUTPUT OF  
RUMOUR WOULD HAVE  
BEEN ALL RIGHT IF THE  
QUALITY HADN'T SUFFERED

5.5.76

**PRIVATE VIEW**



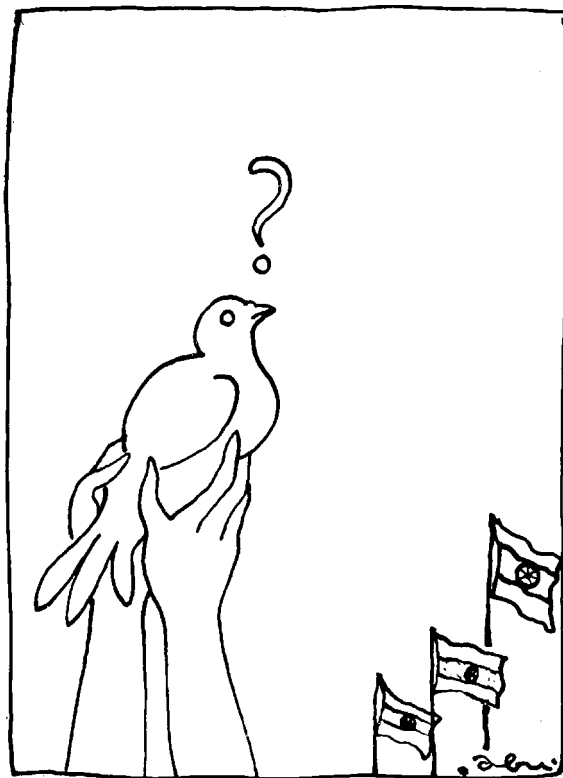
30.4.76

**PRIVATE VIEW**



**MANY HAPPY RETURNS  
OF THE---MONSOON!**

25.6.76

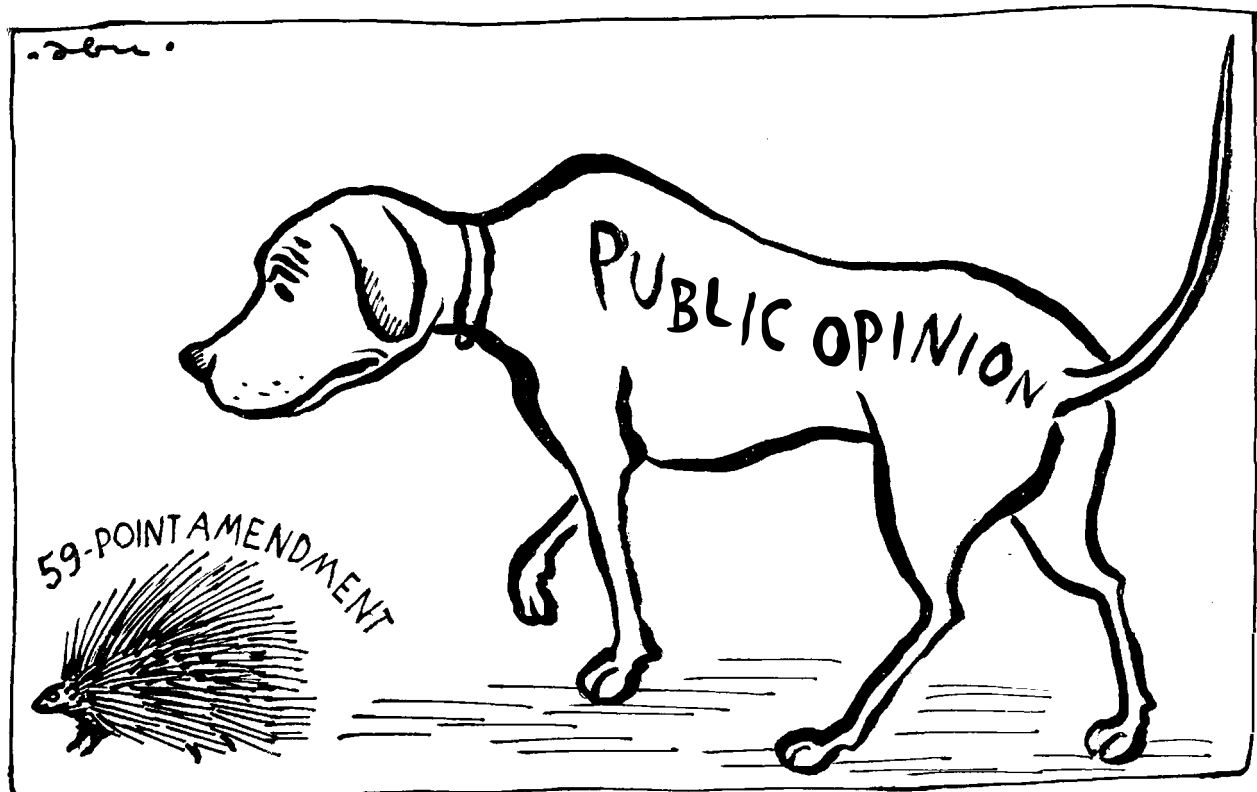


14.8.76



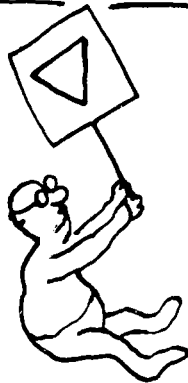
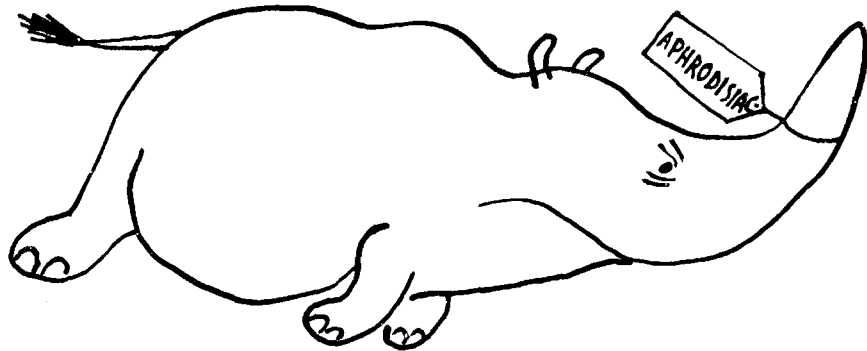


13.10.76

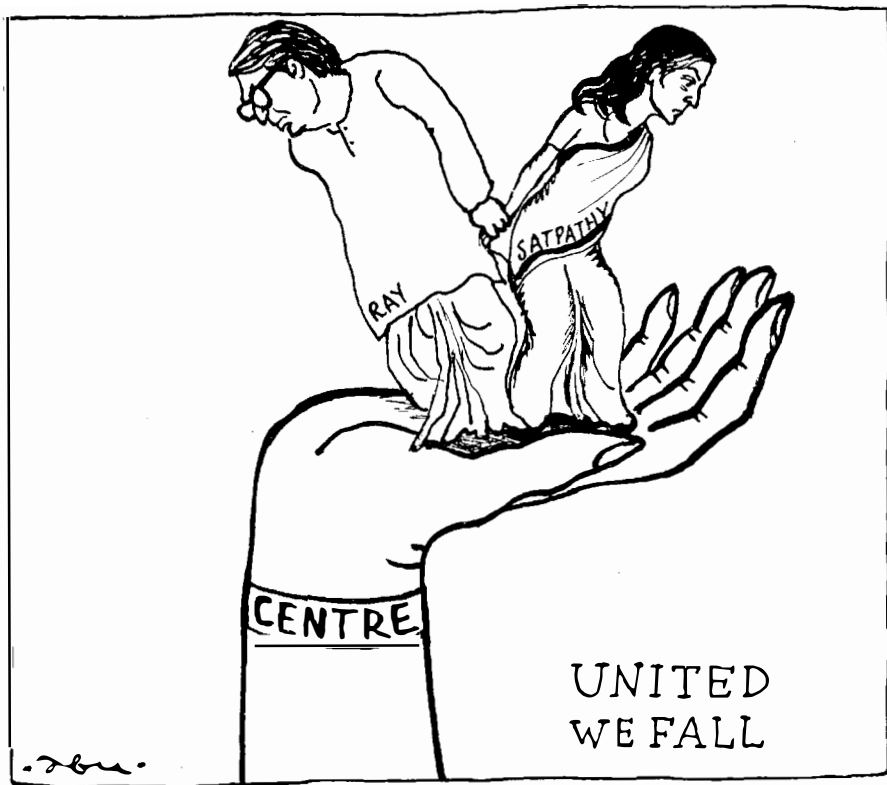


26.10.76

ABU'S WORLD



17.10.76



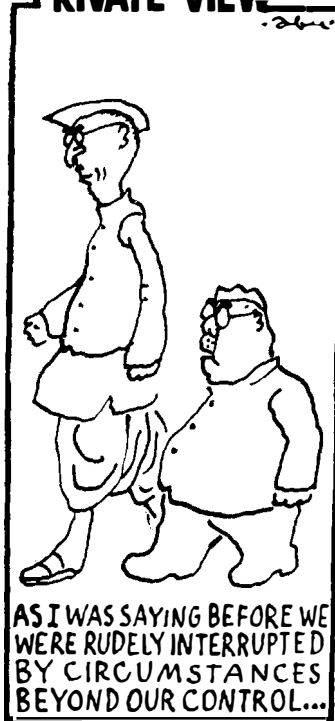
3.12.76

## PRIVATE VIEW



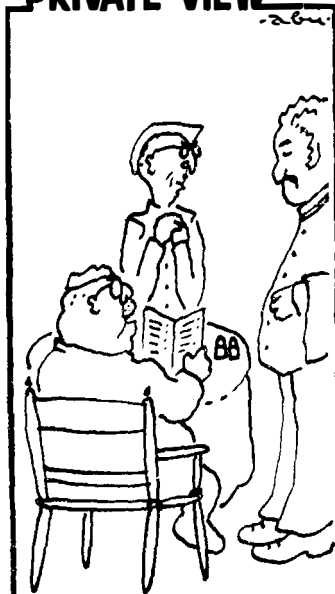
13.7.76

## PRIVATE VIEW



8.10.76

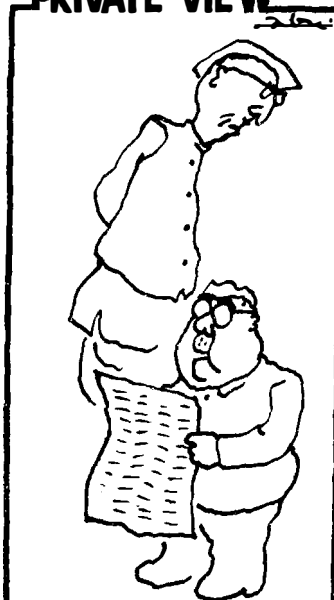
# PRIVATE VIEW



WE'LL START WITH THE 20-POINT  
SOUP, THEN WE'LL HAVE THE  
5-POINT CURRY, FOLLOWED  
BY THE 12-POINT PUDDING.

23.9.76

# PRIVATE VIEW



THE IDEA IS THE SAME. WHAT  
THE CHINESE CALL CULTURAL  
REVOLUTION IS WHAT WE CALL  
CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT

17.11.76

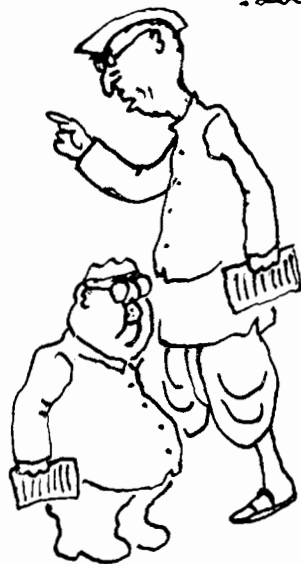
## PRIVATE VIEW



THE IDEA IS TO KEEP AN OPEN MIND UNTIL GOKHALEBHAJ CLOSES IT AT THE APPROPRIATE TIME...

10.10.76

## PRIVATE VIEW



THE ILLITERATE MASSES DON'T UNDERSTAND CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS—WE SHOULD ALWAYS STAND BY THEM

15.10.76

## PRIVATE VIEW

Patnaik  
appreciates  
gains of  
emergency



I UNDERSTAND A FEW MORE  
GAINS OF EMERGENCY ARE  
TO BE RELEASED SHORTLY

17.10.76

## PRIVATE VIEW



I SAID WE SHOULD ASSERT THE  
SUPREMACY OF PARLIAMENT,  
NOT ITS IMMORTALITY

27.10.76



**PRIVATE VIEW**

## *Review of judicial system*



AS I ALWAYS SAY, JUSTICE  
MUST NOT ONLY BE SEEN  
TO BE DONE, BUT MUST  
ALSO BE DONE.

11.11.76

**PRIVATE VIEW**

**Opposition is  
free to express  
views: Mehta**

BYOPAL, Nov. 14 (Sinhala)  
The Union Minister of Sla  
Home Affairs, Mr. Om Mehta  
today that there was of  
his expressive view  
by the oppo

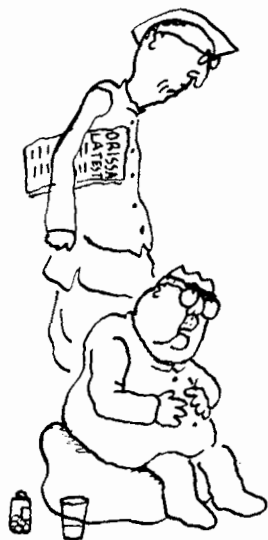


ANY DAY NOW, FREEDOM OF  
SPEECH WILL BE GRANTED  
TO THE RULING PARTY.

16.11.76



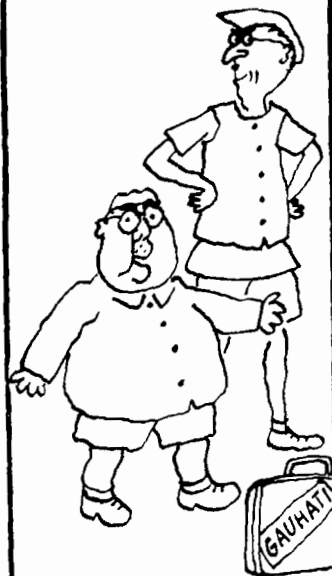
**PRIVATE VIEW**



THE FOOD WAS VERY GOOD,  
BUT THE SIGNATURE  
DIDN'T AGREE WITH ME

11.12.76

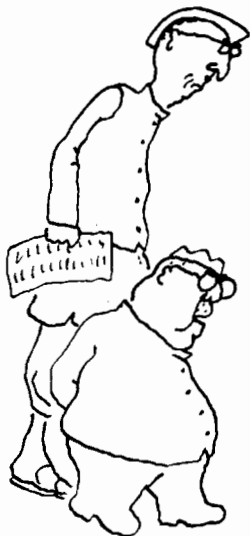
**PRIVATE VIEW**



HOW DO YOU LIKE  
OUR YOUTH KIT?

20.11.76

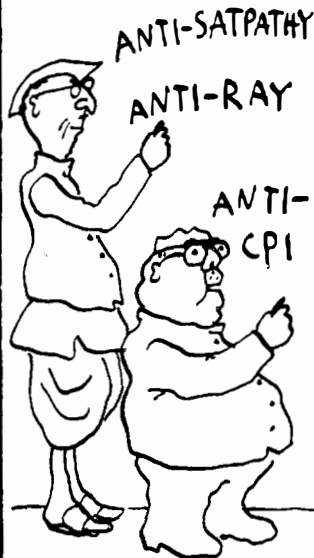
## PRIVATE VIEW



ACTUALLY, ONE CHIEF MINISTER  
IS MUCH THE SAME AS THE  
NEXT - IT'S LIKE TOPPLEDUM  
AND TOPPLEDEE...

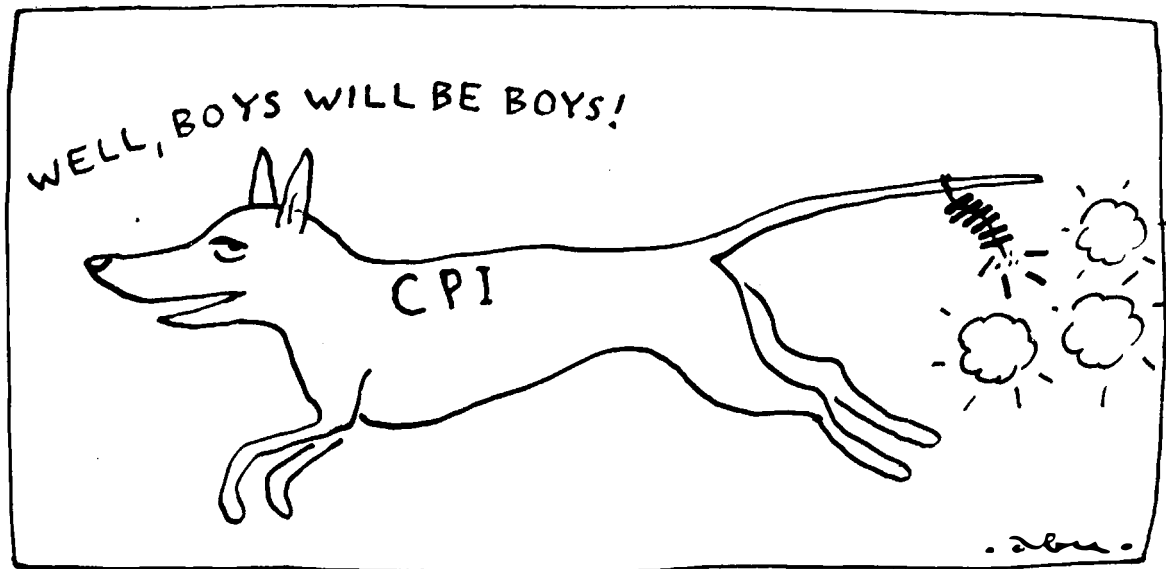
8.12.76

## PRIVATE VIEW



WE'RE IMPLEMENTING THE  
ANTI-POINT PROGRAMME

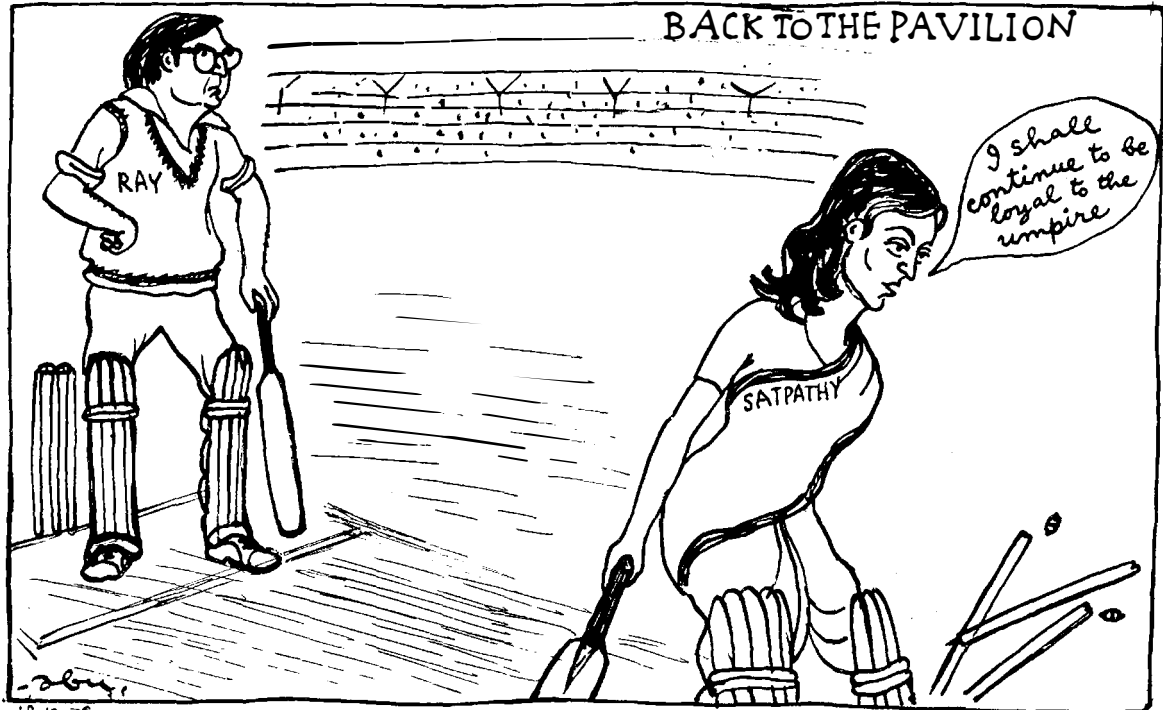
16.12.76



12.12.76

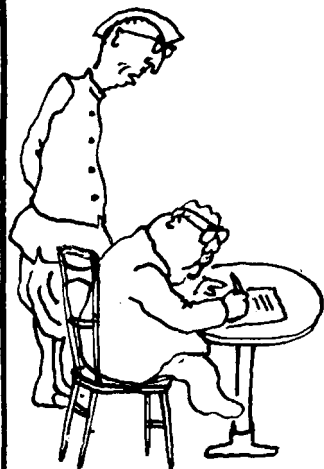


## BACK TO THE PAVILION



18.12.76

**PRIVATE VIEW**



ARE YOU WRITING YOUR  
NEW YEAR AMENDMENTS?

29.12.76

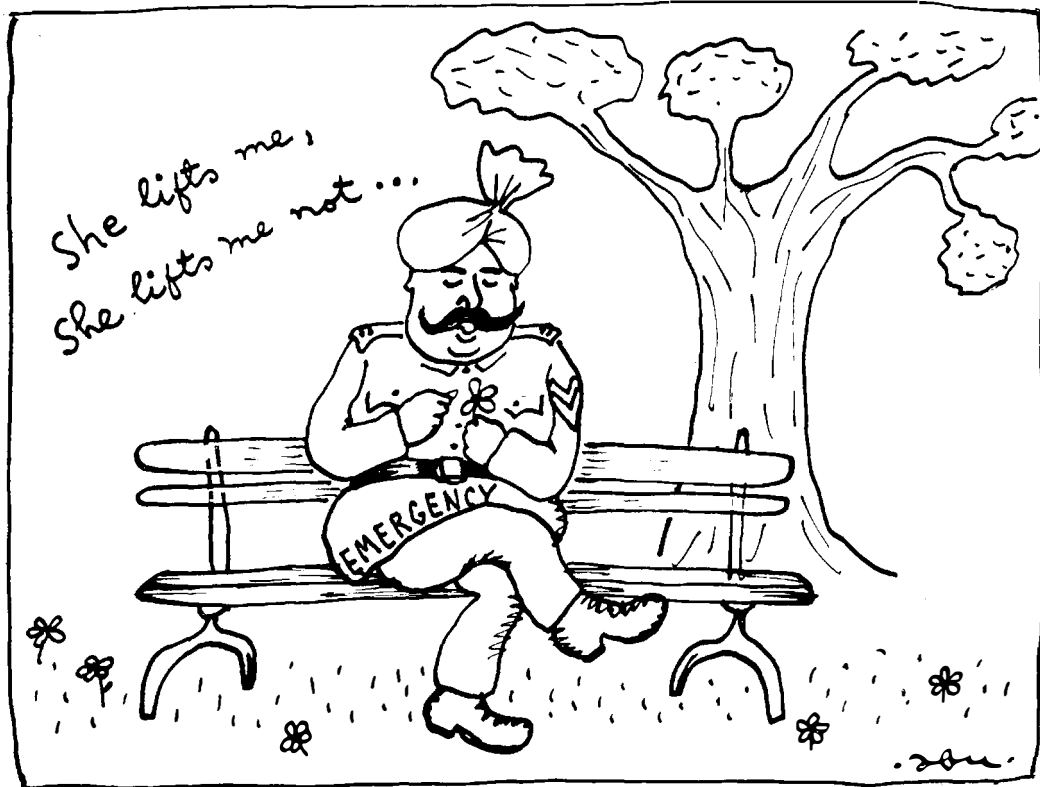
**PRIVATE VIEW**

MAY THE NEW  
YEAR BRING YOU  
GNP AND PERCAPITA  
HAPPINESS!



1.1.77





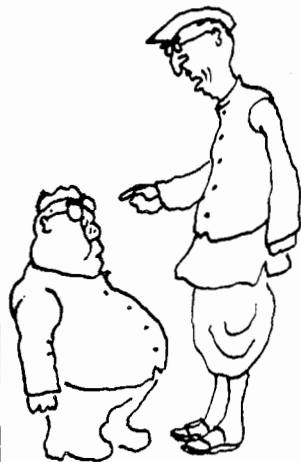
PRIVATE VIEW



OBSVIOUSLY THE EMER-  
GENCY IS RELAXING,  
BUT BANSILAL ISN'T

9.1.77

PRIVATE VIEW



IT'S ONE THING TO STRENGTHEN  
THE CENTRE, QUITE ANOTHER  
TO CENTRE THE STRENGTH

7.1.77



# PRIVATE VIEW

-26-

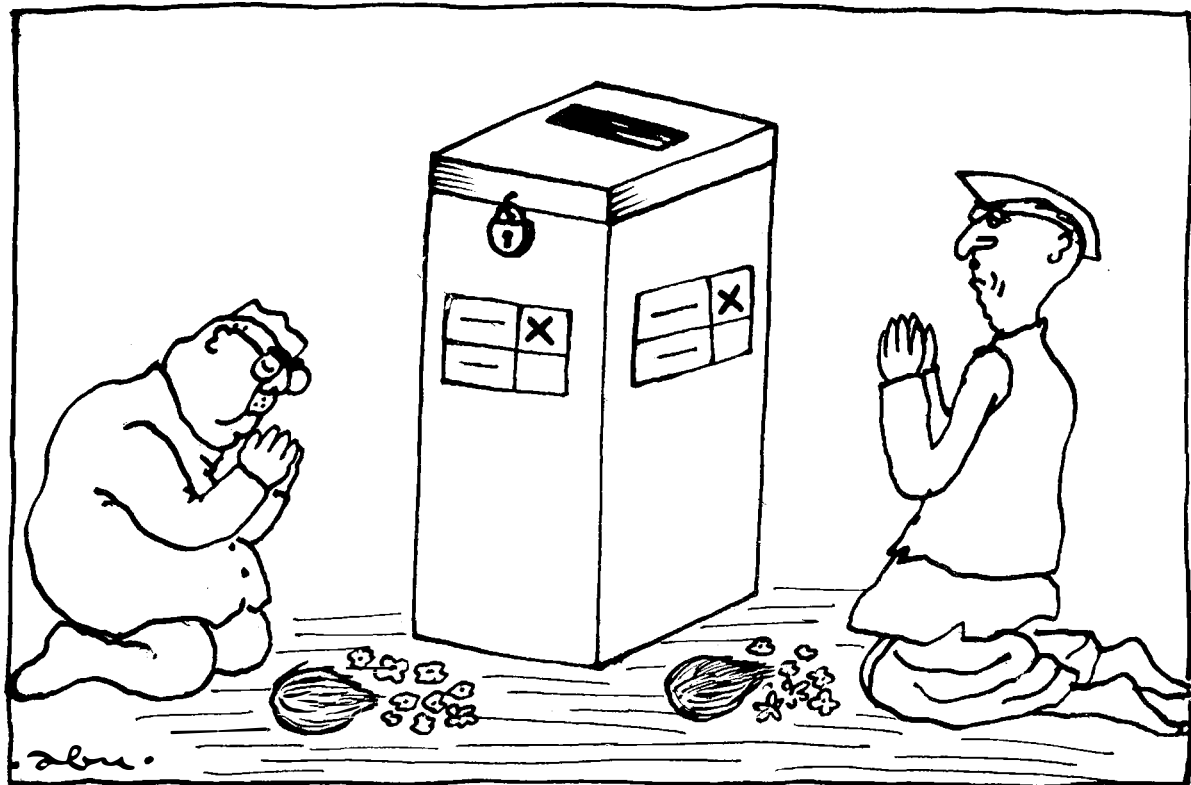


CORRECTION: RUMOUR MONGERS  
ARE ENEMIES OF THE NATION  
EXCEPT WHEN THEY WORK  
FOR A NEWS AGENCY

THE AYES HAVE IT!



20.1.77 [Elections were announced on the night of January 18]



22.1.77



It's unfair to lift censorship suddenly - we should  
be given time to prepare our minds.

21.1.77

## PRIVATE VIEW

### Chief censor office goes



THIS WAS THE MOST  
UNKINDEST CUT OF ALL

23.1.77

## PRIVATE VIEW



APART FROM MORARJIBHAI  
I WOULDN'T SAY THE  
OPPOSITION HAS ANY  
YOUTH LEADER.

25.1.77

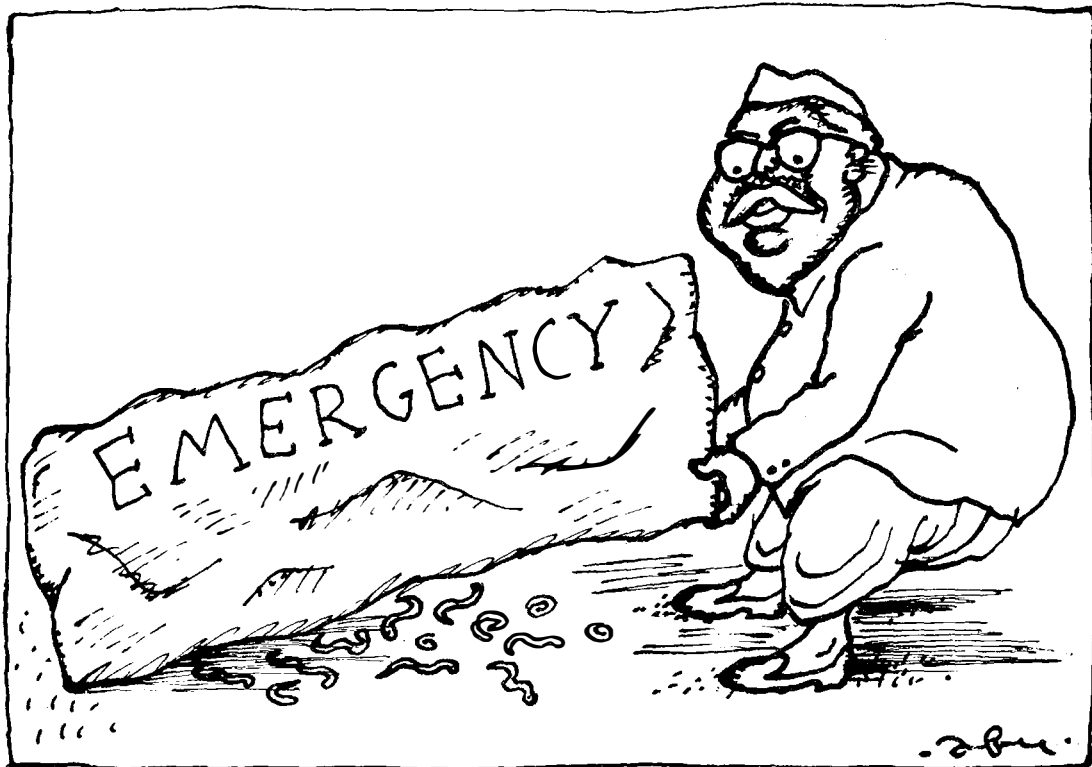


# PRIVATE VIEW



THIS WILL BE A TOUGH ELECTION-  
THE JANATA HAS A HIGHER  
PER CAPITA EXPERIENCE OF JAIL

1.2.77



4.2.77

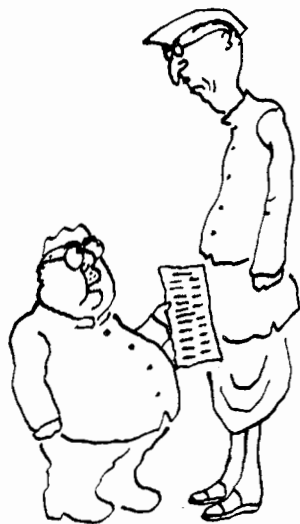
## PRIVATE VIEW

THE TROUBLE WITH  
UNANIMITY IS YOU  
NEVER KNOW WHO  
IS FOR AND  
WHO AGAINST



5.2.77

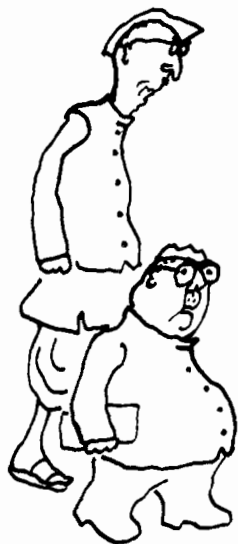
## PRIVATE VIEW



WHAT IDEOLOGY? THE  
LIST IS THE IDEOLOGY

6.2.77

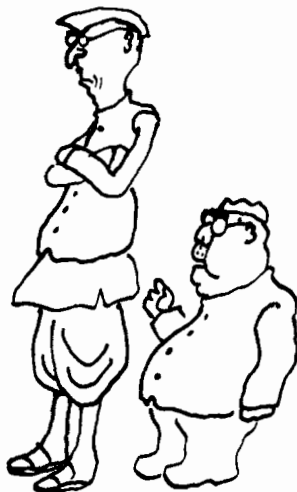
**PRIVATE VIEW**



WHETHER WE UPHOLD  
DEMOCRACY OR SAVE  
IT WILL DEPEND, NATURALLY,  
ON WHO GIVES US TICKETS

9.2.77

**PRIVATE VIEW**



AS I SEE IT, THE FIGHT  
IS BETWEEN DEMOCRACY  
AND DEFECTORSHIP

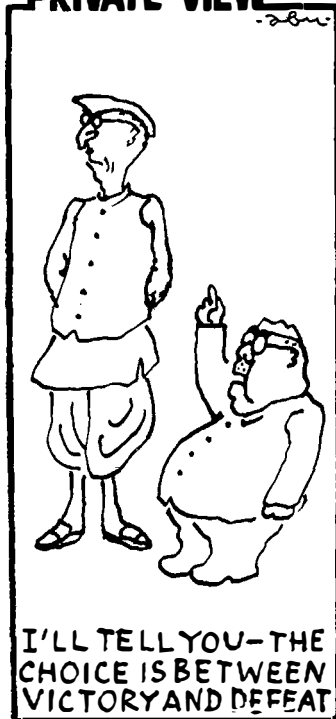
10.2.77

**PRIVATE VIEW**



13.2.77

**PRIVATE VIEW**

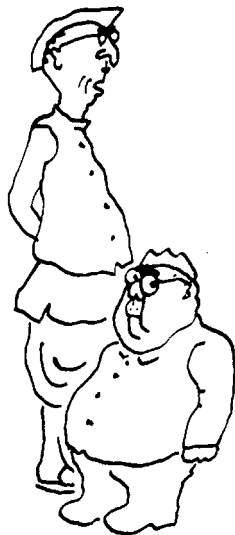


I'LL TELL YOU-THE  
CHOICE IS BETWEEN  
VICTORY AND DEFEAT

19.2.77

# PRIVATE VIEW

-abu-



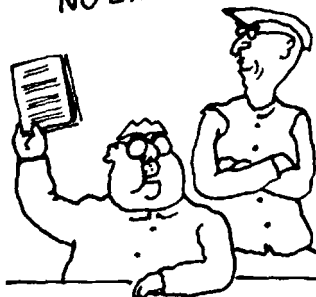
-OR DO YOU THINK THE CHOICE  
IS BETWEEN DEFECTING NOW  
AND DEFECTING LATER?

22.2.77

# PRIVATE VIEW

-abu-

OURS IS THE  
ONLY MANIFESTO  
THAT PROMISES  
NO EXCESSES



23.2.77

We offer you collective leadership,  
but some leaders will be more  
collective than  
the others



20.2.77

## PRIVATE VIEW

Barooah: We'll be the  
President's loyal  
opposition if we lose

NEW DELHI, Feb 22 (Reuters) - Late 1977 with a  
Congress president, Mr. D

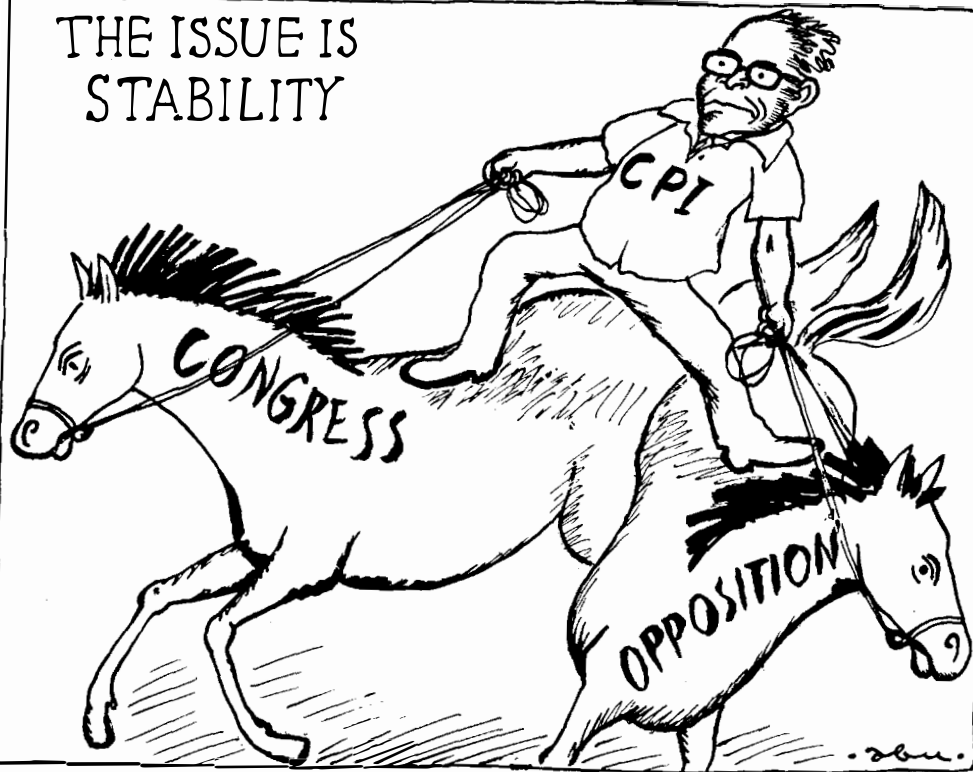


AS CHING CHOW SAYS,  
BLESSED IS HE WHO EXPECTS  
THE WORST FOR HE WILL  
RARELY BE DISAPPOINTED

24.2.77



THE ISSUE IS  
STABILITY



**PRIVATE VIEW**



1.3.77

**PRIVATE VIEW**

**Indian Express (Delhi)  
circulation crosses  
2,00,000**



**THE GOVERNMENT IS NOT  
TO BLAME - IT'S THESE  
OVERZEALOUS OFFICIALS...**

4.3.77

# PRIVATE VIEW

26



NO SIGN OF CRACKS IN THE  
OPPOSITION FRONT. WE GAVE  
THEM TOO LITTLE TIME

8.3.77



THE  
ISSUE IS  
WHICH  
COMES  
FIRST-  
CHICKEN  
OR EGG?  
I SAY  
EGG



THE ISSUE  
IS WHETHER  
I SHOULD  
CARRY ALL  
THE EGGS  
IN ONE  
BASKET.  
I SAY  
YES



.abu.

## PRIVATE VIEW

-abu-



I THINK ELECTIONS WILL BE  
FAIR, AND DEFECTIONS FREE

13.3.77

## PRIVATE VIEW

-abu-



15.3.77

..du.



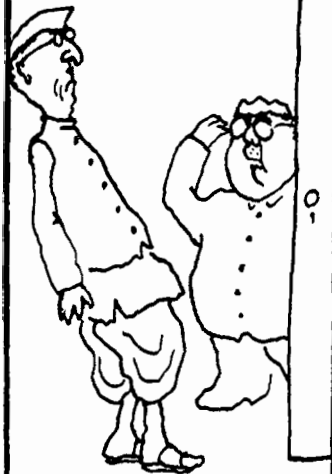
**PRIVATE VIEW**



HOW MUCH EASIER TO  
VOTE FEARLESSLY THAN  
TO WAIT FEARFULLY!

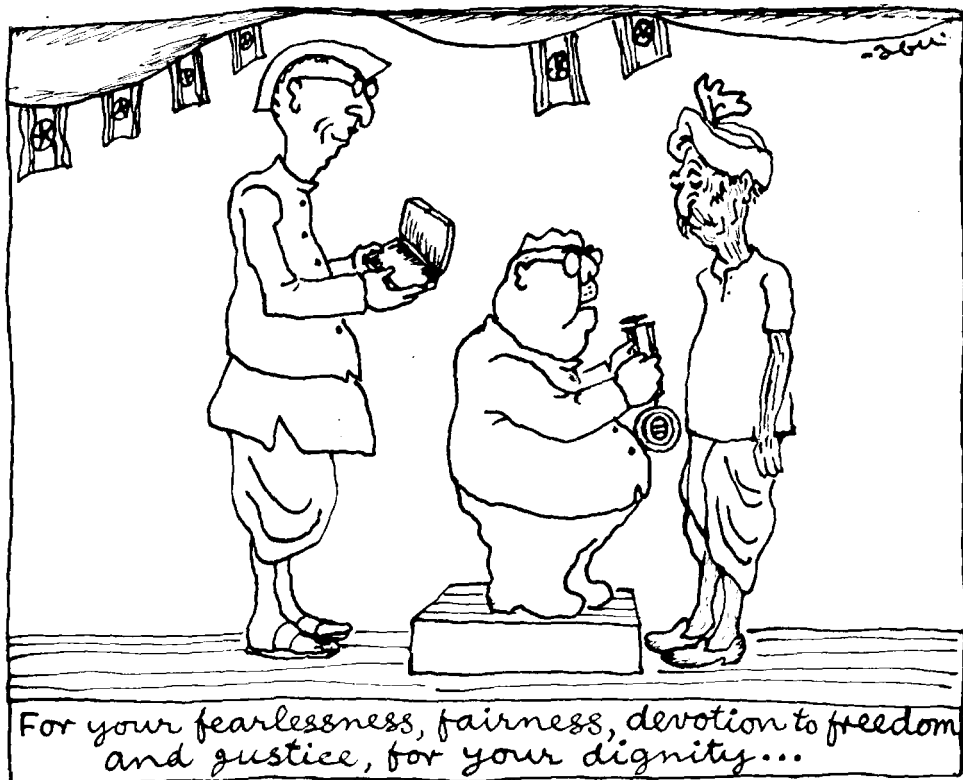
16.3.77

**PRIVATE VIEW**



IT'S A BAD OMEN-OUR  
ASTROLOGER HAS DEFECTED

18.3.77







22.3.77

**PRIVATE VIEW**



**V.C. SHUKLA HAS LOST?  
IS THE NEWS RELIABLE?**

22.3.77

**PRIVATE VIEW**



**WHEN I SAID DEMOCRACY  
NEEDS A STRONG OPPOSITION  
I DIDN'T MEAN THIS!**

23.3.77

# PRIVATE VIEW

-26-



HAVE YOU SEEN? THE NEW  
SYCOPHANCY IS TO BASH  
PEOPLE WHO ARE DOWN

24.3.77

# COLLECTIVE SCHOLARSHIP



**PRIVATE VIEW**

*-abu-*

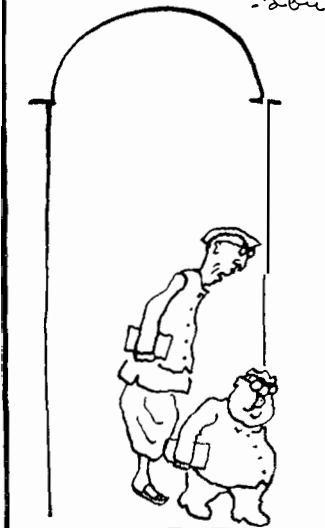


TRAINS ARE STILL  
RUNNING ON TIME—  
AND SO ARE RUMOURS

27.3.77

**PRIVATE VIEW**

*-abu-*



THE FIRST FEW MONTHS  
OF HUMILITY ARE THE  
MOST DIFFICULT...

29.3.77

# PRIVATE VIEW

## Hooch toll 91

AMSTERDAM, March 1 (SAP  
Press)—The death toll in yor  
a liquor tragedy in



THE CHOICE IS ALSO  
BETWEEN ILLICIT LIQUOR  
UNDER CONGRESS AND ILLICIT  
LIQUOR UNDER MORARTI

31.3.77

# PRIVATE VIEW



JUST A SLIGHT CASE OF  
INDIGESTION, I THINK.  
IT MUST BE THE KHICHRI

30.3.77

## PRIVATE VIEW



THE YOUTH CONGRESS MUST  
FIND A NEW IMAGE—LESS  
YOUTH AND MORE CONGRESS

31.3.77

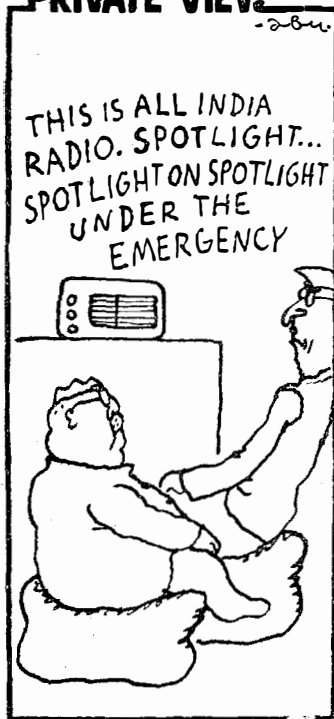
## PRIVATE VIEW

AS FOR CRITICISM,  
DO IT IN TIME;  
DON'T GET INTO THE  
HABIT OF CRITICISING  
ONLY AFTER THE  
EVENT  
—THOUGHTS  
OF MAO



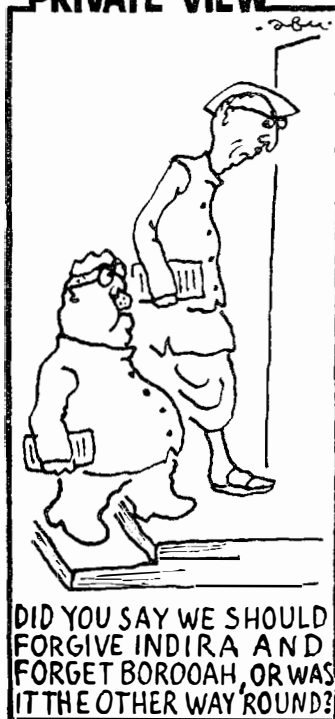
17.3.77

## PRIVATE VIEW



26.3.77

## PRIVATE VIEW



DID YOU SAY WE SHOULD FORGIVE INDIRA AND FORGET BOROOAH, OR WAS IT THE OTHER WAY ROUND?

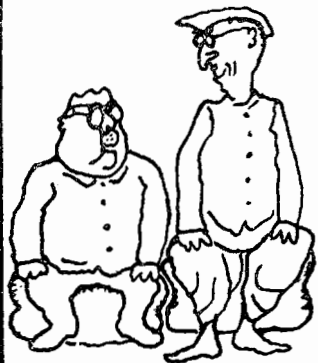
15.4.77



## PRIVATE VIEW

.26.

Desai to resign  
if Govt. fails to  
honour pledges



POLITICS IS A GAME  
OF WAITING, ISN'T IT?

7.4.77

